The Outlook

APRIL 19, 1913

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Congress in Session

The opening on Monday of last week of the special session of the Sixty-third Congress summoned by President Wilson had even more than the ordinary interest which attaches to every first gathering together of Congress under a new Administration. The appearance of the President in person to deliver his own Message, or Address, as it might more exactly be termed, and the introduction of the tariff and income tax measures, which will be the chief if not almost the sole subject of Congressional discussion in this extra session, were of almost equal interest in the public eye, although of vastly unequal importance. Elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook will be found President Wilson's Address in full, an account of the scenes at the opening of Congress, summaries of the tariff and income legislation proposed by the Democratic leaders, and editorial comment on the principles involved. One of the first matters of actual controversy to occupy the attention of Members of Congress was found in the clash over the question of open or secret caucus. The Progressive party, which, although small in numbers as regards Congressional representation, is acting vigorously as to organization and the introduction of bills involving social advance, led the way in making caucus discussions open to the people. President Wilson himself is known to approve the open caucus. But the first caucus held by the Democrats of the lower house positively rejected the plan, after a warm debate in which Mr. Palmer supported and Mr. Underwood opposed the open caucus. The very fact that the newspapers do obtain and publish pretty full accounts of caucus discussions is evidence that the people at large feel that they have a right to know the trend of these important conferences. In our day legislation always begins, and usually is mainly shaped, either by caucus or committee, and in both cases secrecy, at least nominal secrecy, is maintained. The time has come for a radical change. In the organization of the House there were no surprises; as expected, Mr. Champ Clark was chosen Speaker; his vote was 271, while James R. Mann (Republican) received 111, and Mr. Victor Murdock (Progressive) 18, with a few scattering votes. The appointment of some important committees was held back temporarily, an attempt to force the hands of the Democratic leaders having failed in the caucus. Mr. Underwood heads the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. Henry that on Rules. Among the bills of special importance introduced we note two that deserve strong commendation—that introduced for the Progressives in the House by Mr. Hinebaugh, providing for a Presidential Preference Primary under Federal control and supervision, and that introduced into the Senate by Senator Bacon providing for the purchase or leasing of official residences for American Ambassadors and Ministers in foreign capitals.

Direct Election for United States Senators

Hereafter the people will elect directly their representatives in the United States Senate. What now becomes the Seventeenth Amendment to the United States Constitution received last week the ratification of enough States to make it the law of the land. Our readers will remember that an amendment to the Constitution must first be passed by a two-thirds majority in each house of Congress, and must then receive the ratification of three-fourths of the States—that is, at the present time, of thirty-six States. The ratification of States may be made at any time. In the case of the income tax amendment, the interval between its passage by Congress and its complete ratification was about four years; in the present instance, a little less than a year.

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Connecticut was the thirty-sixth State to ratify, and no doubt still others will follow. Although it took about four years to secure the passage of the amendment through the United States Senate, there is to-day hardly any strong opposition to the principle involved. Senator Borah, in commenting upon the ratification of the new amendment, pointed out succinctly its value as essentially strengthening the right form and principle of representative government when he said, "I believe that wherever it is feasible every barrier and intervening influence between the people and their representatives should be removed." The old form of election through the Legislatures has been notoriously conducive to log-rolling, and even, as in the Lorimer and other cases, to bribery or charges of bribery; and has also in very many cases resulted in deadlocks in the Legislature, thus depriving States for considerable periods of time of their just and due representation in the upper branch of Congress. The acceptance of the Seventeenth Amendment is only one of many indications that the ultimate appeal in Government must be to the people, from whom just authority springs.

The Alien Land Bill in California

There has been for some time in California an active agitation against the increased owning and leasing of lands by aliens who cannot become and do not want to become permanent citizens. Translated into plain English, this means that many Californians think that the Japanese are buying and leasing land in constantly increasing numbers and that the result is undesirable for the people of the State. Whether or not the Legislature can succeed in framing a law which will at the same time accomplish what it wants and abstain from violating the treaty rights of the Japanese remains to be seen. Our treaty with Japan provides that its subjects in this country may "lease land for commercial purposes." The first draft of the bill was objectionable because it had a retroactive clause annulling leases and contracts already made, and also because it forbade any kind of leasing for the future—in both cases, of course, only as regards aliens who could not qualify as citizens under the law. The bill has since been changed in such a way as to leave untouched the tenure of land already owned in California by aliens, and to fix the maximum duration of leases at three years, while a general clause guarantees the treaty rights of all aliens. As we believe, neither the Government nor the people of Japan are at all anxious to form colonies in the United States, nor to encourage immigration or increase the number of Japanese in this country. Japan, however, is a powerful and proud nation, and naturally objects to anything which seems like discrimination against Japanese subjects, and it also naturally expects and requires that this country should fulfill its treaty obligations to Japan. In the United States the Constitution and treaties with foreign countries form the supreme law of the land, and State laws which conflict with either will not be upheld by the Supreme Court. Advices from Washington intimate that President Wilson is disposed to await the passage of a law by the California Legislature and its examination by the courts before taking any action in the matter. Coercive action he certainly cannot well take now; but persuasive action might be of use in preventing excitable California politicians, who wish to please their constituents, from framing an offensive law.

Why the Agitation Exists

The trouble seems to be, as a good many of the California labor leaders assert, that, despite Japan's perfectly honorable and effective system of refusing to grant passports to Japanese laborers to come to this country, a certain number of so-called coolie laborers sift in across the border, and that they are engaged to work the lands bought or leased by richer Japanese. It is asserted that the Japanese now own over fifty thousand acres of land and lease four hundred thousand acres in California. One description of what, it is claimed, actually takes place may be quoted from a personal letter written to The Outlook by a Californian. He says: "The Japanese are reducing the value of California lands by buying a piece in a picked valley, paying any price that is demanded. They swarm then over this particular piece of property until they reduce the value of all adjacent land. The result is that they buy or lease the adjoining land, and so they radiate from this center until now they have possession of some of the best valleys." Another view of the matter is that indicated in a press despatch which says:

The proposed legislation is due largely to labor unions and to farmers in districts where

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the Japanese have acquired land. The labor union leaders hate the Japanese because they work for small wages. The Japanese are not pleasant neighbors in the rural districts because they refuse to keep up fences, and their methods of life reduce the value of adjacent farm property. Californians, as a whole, do not believe in this legislation, but most members of the Legislature fear the labor unions and will vote for the bill.

The Japanese are not mentioned in any of the bills proposed; but these bills are made to apply to all aliens who have not expressed their intention under the law to become citizens; and as it is held by the California courts that the Japanese are included under the term "Mongolians," and are thereby forbidden to obtain citizenship in the State, the effect will be the same as if the several races were named individually. An informal protest has been lodged by the Japanese Ambassador with our State Department, but early reports of anti-American agitation in Japan are shown by later accounts to be absurdly exaggerated. The two nations are now friends and mean to remain friends. Japan itself does not desire, and would if necessary tactfully prevent, foreign colonization of large numbers of aliens in its own conntry—in fact, Japan has done so with the Chinese. What Japan wants is dignified and courteous international treatment and her treaty rights, and it is the duty of our States to join with our National Government in seeing that these things are accorded.

The Michigan Election

In the election in Michigan on Monday of last week the proposed Constitutional amendment to provide for woman's suffrage —which nearly succeeded in the vote last fall —was, according to the returns available by the end of the week, decisively defeated. Other amendments providing for the initiative, referendum, and recall were apparently adopted by good majorities. That the progressive movement in Michigan is by no means confined to the Progressive party is indicated by the fact that, while these measures were adopted, the Progressive party, which finished first last fall, this time ran third. The Republican ticket was elected. Besides local conditions varying somewhat in different parts of the State which contributed to the result, there are certain general reasons for the vote as it was cast. A new party lacks, of course, the coherent organization of an old party. Its members, by the very fact that they have voted for the candidates of a new party, are peculiarly free from party ties. There was lacking, too, in this State campaign the feeling that political principles were at stake, as they seemed to be to Progressive voters last fall. The Republicans did not in this spring campaign take the position of the reactionary, as opposed to the progressive. On the contrary, they put forward in the Legislature the very proposals which the Progressives had favored and urged. Moreover, the Wilson Administration has shown itself to be frankly progressive in spirit, and has given to Progressives every reason for wishing to support its efforts to secure those things in which they believe.

Needless Bloodshed in Buffalo

What happened in Buffalo last week is essentially what happened in former years in the great street car strikes in Philadelphia, Columbus, Brooklyn, and other big cities. It is what is bound to happen in such a strike under our present no-system of dealing with industrial troubles. Arbitration should not follow a labor war, but precede and prevent it. Most emphatically is this true of labor wars in which public service, comfort, and convenience are involved and in which the public highways (streets or railways) are in danger of being made the scene of the conflict. In Buffalo the cessation of street traffic, the bringing in of professional strike-breakers, the mobs and violence in the streets, the calling in of troops, and even the shooting of a woman and a child —all are precisely what might be expected in view of the history of past conflicts of this kind. The New York Board of Conciliation and Arbitration should have more power and be able absolutely to forbid, in the interest of both parties, and of that third and greatest party involved, the people of city and State, such a mediæval—barbaric rather—way of not settling disputes. In this case the men assert that they were willing in the beginning to arbitrate their claims (which rest chiefly on union recognition), but that the companies refused flatly. After the violence of last week the companies offered to take back all men formerly in their employ, to listen to a statement of grievances from a committee of employees, and to arbitrate if an agreement was not reached. The strikers regarded the refusal to allow their case to be stated by union leaders as equivalent to a refusal of

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their right to organize, and rejected this offer. And so the weary round of blockading advance goes on, although it is quite possible that an agreement may be reached before this account is read. All this might be avoided if a sensible plan were adopted forbidding strikes and providing just methods of settlement. We repeat here what The Outlook said after the Philadelphia street car strike of 1910:

The law should allow the employees of any public service corporation to present their grievance to a public service commission or its equivalent; should direct the commission to give an immediate and public hearing; should require the railway to accept and act on the finding of the commission; and on its refusal or failure so to do, should put the railway into the hands of a receiver, as it does in case of a failure to pay interest on its bonds. This would provide the employees with a remedy for real or fancied wrongs.

It should then make it a penal offense for the employees of any public service corporation to combine in any attempt to interfere with the regular work of the public service corporation, whether by leaving in a body or by any other method. And it should make it a misdemeanor for any individual to leave the service without adequate previous notice, say four weeks, the misdemeanor being punishable by fine or imprisonment or both. This would protect the right of the public service corporation to render, unhampered by strikes, the service to the public which it was created by the public to render.

New York's Transportation Problem

In the issue of February 1 The Outlook presented to its readers a summary of four plans for improving the existing facilities for the transportation and distribution of merchandise along the west side of New York City. Local interest in this problem of truly National importance has been distracted by the long-drawn-out controversy over the much-needed passenger subway; but with the final signing of those contracts by Commissioner McCall the question has again come to the front. Calvin Tomkins, the city's able and public-spirited Commissioner of Docks, has been compelled to resign because he declined to support the Mayor and the Board of Estimate in the one solution of the difficulty agreeable to them. The ex-Commissioner, the Mayor, and the Board of Estimate have "lined up" as follows: As The Outlook previously stated, Mr. Tomkins desires the city to construct a four-track elevated railway from Sixtieth Street to Fulton Street (or farther) along the margin of the river, this road to be connected by "ramps" (that is to say, by inclines) with the present surface yards of the New Jersey railway lying between Twenty-third and Forty-sixth Streets, and with the New Jersey shore by car transfer ferries to be installed between Thirtieth and Fortieth Streets. This plan contemplates the development of the east side of West Street by freight terminals close enough together to serve the various individual shippers with the shortest feasible truckage haul. Mayor Gaynor and Messrs. Prendergast, Mitchell, and McAneny (the last three have abandoned their suggestion that the New York Central discontinue all tracks below Sixtieth Street and depend henceforth on car ferries for distributing its freight to the downtown district) are a unit in upholding the counter-proposal which they have found acceptable to the New York Central.

What the City Offers the Central

They recommend that the Central be permitted to construct, at its own expense, a four-track subway from Fifty-ninth Street to Forty-fourth Street, an elevated road thence to Thirtieth Street, a two-track subway thence under Tenth Avenue, Washington Street, and Canal Street to the St. John's Park yard. There is no doubt that their proposition has been made in good faith and in the belief that it is the best compromise solution obtainable. In its favor it must be said that the courts have confirmed the right of the Central to its present surface tracks, so detrimental to the welfare of the West Side, that the city cannot persuade the Central to remove those tracks without offering an acceptable substitute, and that the debt limit of the city has not unbounded elasticity. As to this last objection, Mr. Tomkins states that the Board of Estimate has diverted to subway construction fifty millions of the sixty-five millions debt limit exemption allowed because of its profit-paying investment in docks. The ex-Commissioner goes on to say: "I do not believe that the Board appreciates the significance, either at South Brooklyn or at the west side of Manhattan, of well-matured plans for private exploitation for which its course has already given such a foothold. These great undertakings are becoming the mere footballs of private promoters who plan to forestall any system of effective city control that will give to water-front property-owners, other than great corporations, the

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opportunity to help build up this city which is indispensable if it is to fill the place in the world's business for which it has been fitted by nature." The plan advocated by the Board of Estimate offers no method of preventing the congestion of the city's water front by car-floats from New Jersey, and at the same time gives to the New York Central permanent advantage of position over its rivals across the river. The Outlook is strongly with ex-Commissioner Tomkins in believing that this problem can be solved with justice to all concerned without turning over to a single corporation exclusive rights of transportation along the west side of the city. As Mr. Tomkins's successor the Mayor has appointed a man more in sympathy with his ideas, Mr. Robert A. C. Smith, a capitalist intimately concerned in the management of many railway and steamship companies. He recently took an active part in the movement to have the West Side bulkhead extended. He was chairman of the committee appointed by Governor Dix to study the port of New York.

The Trained Nurse

The uniformed medical nurse, popularly known as the "trained nurse," has come to be regarded as quite as essential to the welfare of the patient in any serious medical or surgical case as the operating surgeon or the attending physician. The profession of the trained nurse, although a very young one, is a very honorable one. The modern trained nurse requires a high degree of skill and technical education, because great responsibility for the care of operative wounds, or the administering of medicine, or of other procedure in times of emergency, is left in her hands by the attending physician. It is practically only within ten or twenty years that the law has recognized this responsibility and has therefore endeavored to protect both the public and the skilled nurse by practice acts which are comparable to the laws regulating the practice of medicine. The genuine trained nurse is a graduate of a legally organized training school, carried on in connection with a hospital; but the demands of the public have become so great, and the desire of women to enter this fine and useful profession has so increased, that there are many schools not connected with hospitals which profess to train nurses by the use of textbooks and theories, sometimes by the use of nothing but correspondence. The best obtainable statistics show that there are about twenty thousand trained nurses practicing in the United States who have obtained their preparation in hospitals. It is believed by those who have investigated the matter that from five to ten times as many women are practicing as trained nurses who have had no hospital preparation. The various associations of hospital nurses are now endeavoring to have the law definitely recognize the distinction between the adequately trained nurse and the inadequately trained nurse. It has been found that the endeavor to establish this distinction by making it illegal to use the adjective "trained" or the adjective "registered" by any nurse who is not a graduate of a legally established training school is insufficient. In the State of New York, therefore, a bill has been introduced into the Legislature which forbids any man or woman to "hire himself or herself out as a nurse, or to use the term nurse," unless such person shall be a graduate of a training school approved by the Regents of the State of New York. The bill does not prevent others than hospital school graduates from attending sick persons or assisting physicians in the sick-room, but such attendants must call themselves "attendants" and not "nurses." With the object of this bill we are in hearty sympathy. There is a distinct and valuable function which such attendants as are not registered nurses can perform; the schools that are educating them ought to go right on educating them; it would be a misfortune to a great mass of people who need their services if they were prevented from attending the sick; but when a physician or a family are employing what they believe are hospital nurses, there ought to be some guarantee that they really are hospital nurses. The word nurse, however, is a generic term that for generations has had common use wherever the English language is spoken. We think it is open to question whether an act of the Legislature, however desirable its object may be, can educate the public by the stroke of a Governor's pen to abandon the generic use and to adopt a specific and technical use in its place.

Snap Bean Farm

The Outlook recorded with pleasure the fact that the Uncle Remus Memorial Association had secured the "Wren's Nest," home of the late Joel Chandler Harris, as a monument to his memory. Few writers have been

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so deservedly beloved as the spokesman of Br'er Rabbit and Br'er Fox. His death was a loss not only to American letters but to American life as well. The same Association is now hoping to add to its present holdings "Snap Bean Farm," a plot of land originally part of the Harris homestead, which received that whimsical title from Uncle Remus himself. Most appropriately, the Memorial Association intends to use the "Farm" as a children's playground, fitting it up with swings, joggling-boards, croquet grounds, and, we hope—though this has not been promised—sand piles for the building of rabbit burrows, fox holes, bear caves, or whatever else happens to appeal to active imaginations and small browned hands. Each spring the "Farm" is to be used for the May Day Festival, an annual entertainment that brings in some two hundred dollars towards the support of the memorial. Maypole dances, a flag drill, ice-cream, cakes molded to a speaking likeness of the animals of which—perhaps we should say of whom—Uncle Remus loved to write, are some of the attractive features of this occasion. The fearsome delight of eating up Br'er Fox (preserving his bushy tail for the final bite) must appeal to all children, young and old. Those who feel that they would enjoy such a meal should send a check to the Uncle Remus Memorial Association, 410 Peachtree Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

China Last week the Republic of China definitely entered into its place among the nations. For a year it had been under a provisional Government and a provisional President. Last week its provisional Government became permanent. This was sanctioned by representatives fairly elected by the people. It has been urged that the recent elections in China were not truly representative. We do not believe this to be true. It is true that the electoral franchise in China is not without limitations. Under existing conditions this is wise. But the charge that the election has been confined to a very small part of the people is hardly justified by the facts as they have been developed. Under the law enacted last year any male citizen of the Republic over twenty-one years old, who has resided in his election district for two years, may vote for the members of the lower house of Parliament, if he has paid a direct tax of over two silver dollars—that is to say, one dollar in gold; or who owns real estate valued at five hundred silver dollars or more; or who has a primary school education. These qualifications enfranchise many. There are very many who pay a tax exceeding two silver dollars. But some Chinese farmers do not own land of their own. Most of them, however, have their own dwelling-house and vegetable gardens, the taxation of which may not reach the required amount of two dollars, but the market value of which may be more than five hundred dollars. Finally, many of those who do not yet possess property—indeed, who may be still living under the paternal roof—have been enfranchised by the educational qualification. According to statistics compiled from the reports of the election superintendent of twenty-two provinces, the number of qualified voters is shown to exceed forty million. Such a proportion to the entire population—about four hundred million souls—would indicate that the elections were representative. Last week the representatives met at Peking and constituted the Houses of Parliament. The lower is the House of Representatives, with 596 members; about 500 were present. The upper is the Senate, with 274 members; 177 were present. The Representatives are elected directly; the Senators are chosen by the various provincial councils. The new Chinese parliamentarians are described as "earnest-looking men of mature years; nearly all were dressed in European fashion." The senior member of the House of Representatives formally declared both houses open. The proceedings were brief and simple, but impressive, and an adjournment was taken until April 12. The occasion was observed as a general holiday throughout China, and great rejoicings are reported from many cities.

Mongolia The first act of the new Parliament will be to adopt a constitution. With this and the election of a President the Chinese Republic will be ready to be recognized as a *de jure* government by other governments. Our own, it is a satisfaction to say, having quickly recognized it as a *de facto* government, has for months been waiting for it to fulfill the above functions in order to recognize it finally and fully, although we have been in every-day practical working relations with it ever since the change in form was

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announced. It would have been a fine thing if the United States had been the first among the nations of the world to recognize a *de jure* China; but that distinction goes to Brazil, which did not wait longer than the day of the Chinese Parliament's meeting to afford recognition. Regarding the severance of Mongolia from China, the question has arisen whether this should have any effect upon the recognition of China by the Powers. We cannot see that it should; for recognition is not asked of a geographical area, but of a government. The Chinese Government operates actually and definitely in twenty-two provinces; it operates more vaguely in certain great outlying areas like Tibet and Mongolia. During the recent revolution the Mongolian princes declared that their country had severed their connection with China. As they immediately thereafter asked for Russia's help in constituting a new government, it was easy to see that Russia has not been a stranger to the change. The Russian Foreign Minister replied that he "counseled moderation, but if Mongolia severed her connection with China, Russia would be compelled to enter into business ties with her." It is believed that Russia has long been intriguing to get possession of Mongolia; and she lost no time in moving her troops across the frontier and occupying strategic points in the province. She then prepared an agreement with Mongolia which was duly signed. Among other provisions it stipulated, as reported, that China should not send troops into Mongolia—a Chinese territory! The agreement further stated that Mongolia should be free to make treaties with any nation, subject to Russian approval! Thus the Chinese Republic's sovereignty may continue in Mongolia, provided the Republic agrees to this agreement! A singular arrangement this, and one not at all respectful to the Republic of China. Not to be outdone, the British Government notified China that she must not consider her rights in Tibet to be exclusive. This seems too much in keeping with Great Britain's emphasis on the technical side of the opium treaty to China's disadvantage. As we state elsewhere, it is disappointing to find free Britain taking no more cordial attitude toward a struggling young republic. Meanwhile Japan strengthens her position in Manchuria. Bright as is the day in Peking of the Chinese Republic's assumption of power and dignity, there are dark clouds hovering over the confines of the country.

David and Goliath

Early last October Montenegro declared war against Turkey. Montenegro is not as large as Connecticut; the Turkish Empire extends over a million and a half square miles in three continents. Montenegro has about two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; Turkey has about thirty-five million. Last week Montenegro did an even more daring thing: she defied the Powers. She is not only almost the smallest State in Europe, but her army, brave as it is, is but a gallant handful of men alongside the colossal forces of the Powers. She has no navy; and Antivari, one of her two little ports on the Adriatic, is to-day blockaded by one German, one British, one French, one Italian, and four Austrian gunboats. One would think this a pitifully small game to engage the energies of the great Powers. The British Admiral, as senior commanding officer, must have been rather ill at ease when he notified the Montenegrin Government that "the international fleet was assembled in Montenegrin waters as a protest against the non-fulfillment of the wishes of the Powers." The Government promptly replied that the action of the Powers violated the neutrality they proclaimed at the beginning of the Balkan war. But the Powers pay little heed to consistency in their desire to prevent a general European conflagration. The blockade of a tiny port would seem more like comic opera, and the British Admiral more a Gilbert and Sullivan hero, did not the cause of it all mean so much to Montenegro. At the outbreak of the Balkan war, which Montenegro began a week before her allies were ready, the Montenegrin army crossed the border into Albania and began the siege of Skutari, of all Turkish strongholds probably the hardest to take, defended as it is by nature in seemingly impregnable mountains, which have now been reinforced by man's strategic skill. The Turks had just time greatly to strengthen the garrison and put it under the command of an able general before the bombardment began. They are still holding out. The Montenegrins have a double incentive in the siege: first of all, as theirs is a mountainous and bare country, they are in vital need of the fertile if narrow valley in which Skutari is located; in the second place, the region formerly belonged to them. As King Nicholas says, "My ancestors are buried in that city, and the very church yonder was built by them." An editorial reference to this significant incident,

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as well as to the Chinese situation, appears elsewhere in this issue.

A European Conflagration Averted?

But Austria also wants Skutari—not, as Montenegro does, "to have and to hold;" Austria wants it to be the capital of the independent State of Albania; she wants that capital as near her own borders as possible for the sake of her own influence in Albania. Though other towns, centrally situated, like Avlona or Elbasan, would have been more appropriate choices, Austria chose Skutari, and Germany, keenly feeling the check to Austro-German influence in the Balkan Peninsula by reason of the Allies' success in the war, backed this demand. England and France apparently made no objection; and, despite the intimate relationship between the Italian and Montenegrin royal houses, and despite Russia's long-continued financial and popular support of Montenegro, the conference finally won over both Italy and Russia. With Russian adherence, the European concert was complete. The agreement came none too soon; but for it, according to a statement made last week in the House of Commons by Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, there would have been a European conflagration. Sir Edward declared, as reported:

> The agreement is essential to the peace of Europe, and, in my opinion, it was only accomplished just in time to preserve the peace among the great Powers. . . .
>
> The operations being conducted by Montenegro against Skutari are part of a war of conquest, and there is no reason why the same sympathy felt for Montenegro and other countries contending for their liberty and national existence should not be extended to the Albanian population of Skutari and its district, who are mainly [Roman] Catholics and Moslems, and who are contending for their land, their religion, and their lives.
>
> That the agreement should be upheld by international action remains essential for the continuance of peace among the great Powers. It is because we believe it is in accordance with humanity, with liberty, and with justice, and because we know that the peace of Europe depends upon the maintenance of concord among the Powers most directly interested, that we have undertaken the honorable obligation to take part in the action now proceeding to uphold the agreement and make it respected.

The Russian Government vs. the Russian People

Meanwhile Russian adherence had stirred a popular reaction. The sympathy of the Russian people with their Slav brethren in the Balkans was too strong to be checked by a Government acting to prevent a European conflagration. On Sunday of last week, at St. Petersburg, a remarkable demonstration took place, made up of scores of thousands of representative men of all classes, particularly army officers and soldiers, members of Parliament, professors and students, lawyers, doctors, and engineers. It ushered in an ominous conflict between the Slav and the Germanic races. The German Government had already seen the conflict coming, and had introduced into Parliament new military and financial bills greatly augmenting the country's resources. On the day following the St. Petersburg demonstration the Imperial Chancellor made a noteworthy speech—as notable as Sir Edward Grey's; for, of all statesmen now "in the saddle," these two are specially cautious. The Chancellor pointed out that the strength of the German army had not kept pace with the growth of the German nation. This was the more striking, he said, in that the conditions of Europe had been radically changed by the Balkan war, which had substituted for a passive European Turkey several States representing a feverish political activity. The States were factors of progress indeed, but the Chancellor declared that, should a conflict between Germanism and Pan-Slavism arise, the change would alter the balance in Germany's disfavor. The Chancellor added that he had made special efforts to cultivate good relations with Russia. He believed that the Russian ruler and the Russian Ministers reciprocated this friendly feeling. But, he asserted, the events of the Balkan war had greatly strengthened the Pan-Slavic current in Russia, and this was a danger to European peace.

Skutari

Touching on Montenegro's defiance of the Powers, the Chancellor declared that the conclusions of the conference of Ambassadors at London must be carried out speedily and with decision. Germany, he added, had been working to mitigate the Austro-Russian tension growing out of this situation, but, should war break out, "Germany would unhesitatingly fight beside her ally." Thus, as we see, because of the decision of the Powers, the Montenegrins, after six months' fighting, would be cheated of their victory, almost reached. No matter what happens, say the Powers, Skutari is not to belong to any of the Balkan allies, but

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to a new State created by the Powers; hence further fighting is not only useless but cruel, and should be stopped. This decision sounded queerly in Montenegro. The people may have been prepared for Austrian and German disapproval; but this announcement, followed by the appearance of the gunboats, must have startled them. The French boat was the Edgar Quinet. King Nicholas telegraphed thus to the Paris 'Temps:"

> It is a bitter irony that the name of the illustrious Edgar Quinet, the upholder of peoples struggling for independence and unity, should be associated with an expedition against the small but valiant champion of Balkan independence. You may say that, despite the measures of coercion taken by Europe against her, Montenegro will yield only to violence. It remains for Europe to add the ridicule of armed force to her injustice.

The situation at Antivari seems absurdly unequal, of course, but it is really not quite as unequal as it looks. It is not without significance that, though the Russian Government agrees, perforce, in principle with the other Powers, it has not sent a war-ship to Antivari. It is not without significance, either, that a great proportion of Austria's population is Slav and disdains the anti-Slav policy pursued by the Austrian Government.

Abating Noises in Germany

The laws governing noises in Germany are severe. For instance, according to the German Criminal Code, "whoever in defiance of law and order shall cause a disturbance of the peace or perpetrate a public nuisance is punishable by a fine up to a hundred and fifty marks [$35.70], or confinement." The law, as interpreted by the courts, does not apply when an individual or a small group of persons is disturbed by noises, but only when the public in general is disturbed. The term "public in general" is, however, construed to apply to a number of families living in the same house, or to pupils assembled in a public school; if they are disturbed by a barking dog or cackling fowl, the owner of the dog or fowl is liable under the law. The Berlin street ordinances prohibit the playing of music or the crying of wares by hucksters or newspaper venders in the streets, unless permission is first obtained from the police officials, and prohibit the transportation of all articles, such as sheet iron, chains, and other metal objects, liable to make a noise, unless packed so as to be noiseless. Such prohibitions would seem to be sufficiently severe. But the new ordinances now coming into force are severer still. According to these not only must police permission be obtained for playing music in the streets, but also in all cases when, played in buildings, it can be heard in the streets; otherwise, when music is played or sung in rooms which connect with streets, the windows and doors of the rooms must be kept tightly closed! No loud singing, whistling, or hurrahing, and no bell-ringing (except the jingle of sleigh-bells) is now allowed in the streets. Moreover, the new ordinances forbid the beating of beds, carpets, or clothing in open windows or on balconies connected with the streets. Finally, the new rules require that vehicles without springs shall be driven slowly, so as to reduce the noise from the vehicle or its contents to a minimum. These details suggest what might, even in much greater moderation, be accomplished in American streets.

Education in India

The subject of education in India is not only of increasing significance, but of special significance because of the similar work which the United States Government is doing in the Philippine Islands. The announcement of the British Government's new policy with regard to education in India will therefore be read with particular interest. While free compulsory education for the masses is, it is declared, not practicable at present for administrative and financial reasons, the Government announces its expectation to add in the near future no less than ninety-one thousand primary schools to those already existing. This should double the number of pupils attending school in India. They now amount to about four and a half million. Nor is this all. Free education is to be extended to those who cannot afford fees. Special attention is to be given to improving the education of girls, particularly with regard to training in hygiene. As to the secondary schools, those privately managed will be maintained in efficiency by Government inspection, regulation, and control, and by the aid of Government funds. This, of course, reinforces the work of the missionaries. As to university education, the Government's policy will be to have one university in each leading province. The mere announcements of these changes, especially that in primary education, should constitute an epoch-making event in Indian social progress.

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A COMPETITIVE TARIFF

For at least five years the American people have had their minds set on tariff revision downward.

After a campaign in which Mr. Taft, the Republican candidate, promised a downward revision, the people intrusted the Government to the Republicans. The downward revision in the Payne-Aldrich Bill that was passed by the Republicans was not visible to the country at large. In spite of certain meritorious features, some of which are likely to become permanent contributions to tariff legislation, the law did not fulfill the just expectations of the people. The explanations offered did not explain. Then the people turned to the Democrats, placing them in power, first in the House of Representatives, and then, last fall, in both branches of Congress and the Presidency.

Now the Democratic leaders of the House of Representatives have shown what their response to these just expectations is by the introduction of the Underwood Bill. Whatever else may be said of this bill now before Congress, it is distinctly and unmistakably a bill for the revision of the tariff downward.

There are many theories about the tariff, but the people as a whole are paying to them little regard. They want a lower tariff, and, if the Underwood Bill passes without material change, they will get it. Whether the relief that the people expect from lowered duties will come is another question.

There are four main purposes, any of which may rule in a revision of the tariff.

The tariff may be revised, first, with the controlling purpose of raising revenue. That appears to have been the original purpose of levying import duties. Expressed in the phrase "a tariff for revenue only," this has been the purpose avowed by the Democratic party.

Second, the tariff may be revised with the main purpose of fostering industries. Expressed in the phrase "a protective tariff," this has been the avowed purpose of the Republican party.

Third, the tariff may be revised for the purpose of regulating industry, either through fostering a legitimate competition, or by the express exercise of authority through a Tariff Commission. Such a tariff might well be called "a regulative tariff." If the regulation is sought through the fostering of competition, Mr. Underwood's apt phrase applies—"a competitive tariff.

Fourth, the tariff may be revised for the purpose of reducing the cost of living.

Officially, the Democrats have for years protested against the protective principle. They have regarded it as an excuse for granting special privileges. They have not thought the better of it because it has been defended on the assumption that this has meant the handing of privileges all around.

Practically the Democrats have abandoned—if they ever consistently held—the position that in tariff revision the sole purpose should be the raising of revenue. Not only have they abandoned this position in the bill now offered—they abandoned it in the campaign last year. It is true that in that platform they declared it to be "a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government, under the Constitution, has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue . . . ;" but in the same platform they urged that downward revision should be made with a view to "reductions" upon "the necessaries of life," and with a view to letting in "articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products and articles of American manufacture which are sold abroad more cheaply than at home," and also with a view to "legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry." It may be urged that this is not inconsistent, inasmuch as the one purpose has to do with putting duties on, the other with taking duties off. Whatever inconsistency there is in this position, however, it is not between platform and performance, it is inherent in the platform itself. The country was under no illusion. It did not take seriously the statement that a protective tariff is unconstitutional. That of itself is a reflection on the moral tone of American politics; but that tone is due to Republican as well as to Democratic practices. The fact remains that, in the same platform in which the Democratic party declared that any other object than revenue rendered tariff taxation unconstitutional, it proposed to frame a tariff bill with other objects.

Following the lines drawn in the platform, then, the Democratic tariff bill now before Congress sets forth in its title other objects than revenue. As interpreted by Democratic leaders, including Mr. Underwood as well as President Wilson, the main objects are two—

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the restoration of competition and the reduction of the cost of living.

In contradistinction to the Republican tariff, which was a producers' tariff, this is designed to be a consumers' tariff; and in contradistinction to a protective tariff, this is a competitive tariff.

These two objects—to serve the consumer, and to encourage competition—are mutually consistent. It is entirely rational to hold that the way to reduce the cost of commodities to the consumer is to promote competition among producers. In this case it means not only competition of American producers with one another but competition between American producers and foreign producers. Mr. Wilson has well expressed these two objects. In his address last week to Congress he said, on the one hand, with plain reference to the consumer, that "a duty was laid upon the party now in power at the recent election which it ought to perform promptly, in order that the burden carried by the people under existing law may be lightened as soon as possible. . . ." That for the one object. As for the other, it is perhaps most happily and explicitly phrased in the following sentence from the same address: "Aside from the duties laid upon articles which we do not, and probably cannot, produce, therefore, and the duties laid upon luxuries and merely for the sake of the revenue they yield, the object of the tariff duties henceforth laid must be effective competition, the whetting of American wits by contest with the wits of the rest of the world." There is in that sentence no attempt to argue that this object is one of taking off of duties rather than of putting them on. It is a frank statement that tariff duties should be laid not merely for purposes of revenue, but also for regulative or disciplinary purposes.

These two objects—the one relating to the relief of the consumer, the other relating to the discipline or regulation of the producer—are consistent not only with one another, but with the whole Democratic theory of dealing with business.

This theory is based on the belief that modern industry (to use the analogy suggested, we believe, by Mr. Wilson himself) has been going up the wrong road; that it should retrace its steps to the place where the roads fork, and then it should go up the right road. According to this analogy, the wrong road is combination that leads to monopoly; the right road is competition that leads to free business. The Democrats believe that they are commissioned to restore business to the right road—to competition. They propose to do this not only in the enforcement of the Anti-Trust Law as it stands, but in its further development; and likewise, with a very definite and sincere purpose, they propose to do this in the enactment of a competitive tariff.

The tariff rates have been too high. The intention of the Democrats to lower them should be commended by all without regard to party. The tariff has in the past been too much a producers' tariff. We think the country as a whole will welcome the Democratic plan to take into consideration the interests of the consumers. The tariff has been too much a tariff of governmental benefits conferred, too little a tariff of governmental regulation administered. We think that it is a wholesome tendency, apparent in the new tariff bill as interpreted by President Wilson and Mr. Underwood, to require of industry good behavior in return for the protection inevitably incidental in any tariff levied.

Such regulation, however, as is needed in this day of great business combinations will not, we believe, come about through any effort to restore competition—whether that effort be exerted through anti-trust statutes or through the disciplinary effect of a change in tariff rates. It will come only when we apply to industry the principle that has been applied successfully in the regulation of railways. Instead of leaving this regulation to the operation of so-called "economic laws," the Government should frankly assume it through the establishment of an administrative commission.

The time has gone by when civil liberty can be preserved by being intrusted to checks and balances between the branches of civil government. The time has likewise gone by when industrial liberty can be preserved by being intrusted to checks and balances between economic laws. No economic law shows any regard for child labor, any mercy for the overworked mother in the tenement, any consideration for the human drift produced in the wreckage of modern industry. With the growth of political liberty there has gone a development of political authority. With the growth of industrial liberty there must likewise develop authority over industry.

If the tariff is to be used as a regulative instrument, it should be administered by an

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expert Tariff Commission, clothed with authority to investigate conditions, and to apply to individual cases the rules established by legislation. Under such a Commission, if any industry used the benefits conferred by the tariff in order to create monopoly, or to distribute unfairly the fruits of production, or to keep in subjection the mass of its workers, or to play fast and loose with those who invest in its securities, the power of the Government could be directly invoked.

THE POWERS OR THE PEOPLE

The reader, in forming his judgment of the foreign policy of England in its attitude toward China and Montenegro, described on another page, should bear in mind the very serious difficulty of her situation. England, whose native home is hardly larger than some Southern States of our Union, has an empire on which it is proudly said the sun never sets. She maintains and protects it by a navy which it has been her boast makes her mistress of the seas. No wonder that she is an object of jealousy to the other world Powers. And it must be confessed by England's admirers that her sometimes brusque, not to say overbearing, manners have intensified that jealousy and created in other Powers a desire to humiliate her.

But it ought not to be forgotten that since the close of the Napoleonic wars her power has generally been exercised in behalf of justice and good government. Her insular prejudices have often made her obnoxious to the people whom she ruled; but her rule has been beneficial to them. It has not been founded on the consent of the governed, but it has been for the benefit of the governed. Self-government in India would mean Mohammedan government, for though the Mohammedans are not the majority they are the strongest among the peoples of India. And Mohammedan government has never been either just or beneficial to an alien people. In Egypt the rule of Great Britain has been incomparably better for the people than the rule of the Khedive. In South Africa the rule of Great Britain is far better than the rule of the Boer. In Italy the appeal of Mr. Gladstone describing the atrocities of King Bomba, and the less dramatic but also effective sympathy of Lord Palmerston with Cavour, were important factors in the liberation of Italy.

At the close of the Napoleonic wars a so-called Holy Alliance was formed by the Powers of Europe to prevent the progress of democracy. In that Alliance England had no part; and Americans ought never to forget that the so-called Monroe Doctrine was really formulated and proposed by an English statesman to prevent that Alliance from foisting an autocratic authority upon any people on the American continent. That Alliance has long since been dissolved. But autocracy in Europe is no more favorable to the progress of democracy now than it was a hundred years ago.

Meanwhile feudalism has been fighting a retreating battle on English soil. The recent events in that battle are too fresh in our readers' mind to need recall here. Modern England is democratic England.

These facts seem to us to point out clearly the wise foreign policy of England at the present time. She cannot, if she would, join the informal and unofficial Holy Alliance of the twentieth century. Her people would not allow it if they knew it. The autocratic Powers would not allow it if they knew it. She cannot allay the hostility of imperialism in Germany, or ecclesiasticism in France, or autocracy in Austria, or landlordism in Italy, by any half-hearted co-operation. She can put herself at the head of the great democratic movement all over the world. She can have the sympathy of the Social Democrats of Germany, of the Anti-Clericals of France, of the common people of Austria and Italy and Spain, of the peasantry of Russia, and of the new-born nation of China. For these she does not need to undertake any perilous adventures, any officious intermeddling with the democratic problems of other nations. Inaction, as well as action, may speak louder than words. But she certainly cannot be a leader of the world's democracy, nor have the sympathy and support of the common people, by joining with Russia in permitting the overthrow of constitutional government in Persia, by refusing a recognition to the Chinese Republic and forcing upon China the opium which India has produced, and by sending her ships to join the fleet of Austria and Italy in a demonstration to deprive the Montenegrins of the result of their hard-fought battle against the Turks.

England has come to a parting of the ways. She must decide whether she will repudiate her democratic and foreign policy of the last half-century and endeavor to preserve her empire by co-operation with the autocratic

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Powers of the world, or whether she will carry out her policy of the last half-century to its natural and logical conclusion, and preserve her empire by taking the lead, which her temperament and her history assign her, in the great democratic movement which has liberated France and Italy and is liberating China and the Balkan States from age-long oppression. But to do this she must overcome her insular prejudices, she must respect other races, she must recognize the essential equality of the common people everywhere, and she must have both the vision to foresee the future and the courage to do and to dare in realizing it.

In such leadership she could have the political sympathies of the American people, if not the practical co-operation of the American Government.

ASK HER

The Woman Suffrage question is two questions: one to women, one to men.

To women: Do you wish to share in the responsibility for the government of the State?

To men: Will you accord to women a share in the responsibility for the government of the State?

The women ought to have a chance to answer the first question before the men answer the second. The men have a right to know whether in voting to women the ballot they are according to her a privilege which she desires, or imposing on her a responsibility which she does not desire.

The present indications are that only a small number of women wish to vote; that the majority are either opposed to woman suffrage or are indifferent.

The New York "Sun" publishes a letter from a correspondent, from which we quote the following paragraph:

In 1892 there was placed upon the statute book of Massachusetts a law allowing women to vote in the election of local school boards. The school affairs of each town are administered by a body of six or eight persons called the school committee, a part of whom are elected at each annual town meeting. I have lived for the last twenty years in Dedham, a famous old town about ten miles from Boston, justly proud of its public schools and where indeed the first public school in the United States was established in 1640, or thereabout. As moderator occasionally of the annual town meeting and as actively interested in town politics I had an opportunity of observing to what extent this provision of the law allowing women to vote on school matters has been taken advantage of by the women of Dedham. The figures are taken from the annual reports of the town:

Year.	Male Voters.	Women Voters.	Year.	Male Voters.	Women Voters.
1893	1,534	..	1904	1,670	69
1894	1,554	26	1905	1,634	65
1895	1,513	11	1906	1,687	65
1896	1,665	101	1907	1,641	63
1897	1,423	102	1908	1,710	60
1898	1,476	91	1909	1,681	56
1899	1,471	82	1910	1,725	58
1900	1,574	79	1911	1,803	55
1901	1,604	78	1912	1,884	49
1902	1,642	74	1913	1,948	49
1903	1,643	72			

The remaining hundreds of women, approximately equal in number to the men, did not vote.

The New York "Times," commenting on this paragraph, adds:

Connecticut women have long had the right to vote at school elections. The Hartford "Courant" estimates that there are 18,000 women of voting age in Hartford. Only 1,040 were registered; less than 10 per cent of these voted. In other words, more than 90 per cent of the women who registered did not vote, while only 6 per cent of the women qualified to vote took the trouble even to register. The number of registered voters who fail to vote in general elections averages about 6 per cent of the total.

A house-to-house canvass conducted in 1911 in 102 districts in England showed twice as many women opposed to suffrage as in favor of it; and only one in six of the women appealed to was positively favorable to it.

The figures are as follows:

Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No reply.
135,351	47,222	21,708	9,358	57,063

A reader of The Outlook recently sent out a thousand letters to a thousand women living in New York State, asking if they would be in favor of having the question whether they wanted to vote put to a vote, and if so, how they would vote. There were 680 answers, of which 410 said that they would not vote on the question if it were presented, and if they did vote they would vote against it. These women live in small towns, the second tier of cities, and in New York City, and represent all the different classes from the college alumnæ to the working-girls. In this case only one in six declared herself favorable to woman suffrage.

In view of these significant facts the present voters, before they vote to impose the ballot on the women, have a right to know whether the women wish it. And it is very easy to find out. Ask them.

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Let the New York Legislature provide that a petition for the ballot be placed in every polling-booth in the State next fall, and every woman over twenty-one years of age and a resident in the district be given an opportunity to subscribe to it. She should give both her name and her residence. And, to prevent fraud, a State official might well be present to take her oath or declaration to the fact that she is a resident and of age. The next day we should know how many women in New York State desire "votes for women" enough to sign a petition made ready and convenient for their signature. The expense would be insignificant; the information obtained would be invaluable.

For if this were done, when the present voters in the State came to vote, as they will a little later, on the Constitutional Amendment giving the ballot to women, they would know whether they are voting to give it to women who want it, or voting to impose it on women who do not want it.

We submit this plan to any readers of The Outlook who chance to be in the Legislatures of those States in which Constitutional Amendments are pending. And we suggest to the Anti-Suffrage Committees the wisdom of urging on the Legislatures of their States such legislation for getting at the real wish of the women.

LETTERS TO UNKNOWN FRIENDS

What is the best way of presenting to a child the reality of God? I cannot teach my child that God is a Father, an ever-watchful and near presence, because I do not myself have that conception of God; and I cannot—and would not—have that attitude toward him. But I do feel very strongly the reality of a God who is the origin of all laws, a force greater than anything the universe can produce. This is to me a perfectly satisfying conception of God. I feel no desire to draw nearer to that Presence by prayer or communion. But how can I answer my boy's questions as to the origin of the world and all that is in it?

Some years ago a little boy of my acquaintance was playing on the floor of his father's study, where his father was at work with his books. The father became aware of an unaccustomed stillness; looked up; the boy was in a brown study; then suddenly turning and seeing his father for the moment disengaged, put to him the question he had been pondering:

"Papa, is God a man?"

"No! my child."

"What, is he a woman then?"

The little fellow had found his way unaided to the primitive faith of the Hebrew people: "God made man in his own image, male and female created he them." The objects he most revered were his father and mother. To them he looked for an image of God. And he was quite right.

There are two directions in which we may look for an interpretation of God: to Nature; to Humanity. Paganism looks to Nature; Christianity and Judaism (for the two are one and the same religion) look to Humanity.

A cyclone sweeps through Kansas and Nebraska; a flood sweeps through Ohio. Property is destroyed; homes are broken up; lives are lost. Instantly there springs up all over the country a human movement for assistance and rescue. Men freely offer their money, their time, some of them their lives, to help their fellow-men. The President does not wait for a lawyer's opinion as to his Constitutional prerogatives, or Congressional appropriation of money. He calls instantly on the resources of the Government to aid in sending assistance.

Shall we look to the cyclone and the flood for an interpretation of God? Or shall we look to this spontaneous movement of Humanity? Is he in Nature? Or is he in the hearts and lives of men? Did he plan the destruction? Or did he inspire the sympathetic hearts and the helping hands?

We are not left in doubt as to the Hebrew prophets' answer to this question.

Elijah had been made indignant by the vicious and cruel religion of Baal, fostered and supported by the vicious and cruel Jezebel. He had known no other way of conquering vice and cruelty than by destroying those who practiced it. He had taken advantage of a sudden popular reaction, and, by what we should now call either an act of mob violence or an act of political revolution, he had put the priests of Baal to death. But the popular reaction did not last. The people were frightened at their own temerity. He was left to face alone the wrath of the Queen. He fled into the wilderness and would fain have committed suicide, but his conscience forbade. Obeying a divine impulse, he went on a pilgrimage to Mount Horeb in the wilderness of Sinai.

And the word of the Lord said, Go forth and stand upon the mount before Jehovah. And behold, Jehovah passed by, and a great and strong

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wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before Jehovah; but Jehovah was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but Jehovah was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but Jehovah was not in the fire: and after the fire a still, small voice.

The message to Elijah in the Sinaitic wilderness was, God is not in the tempest, the fire, or the earthquake, but in the still, small voice. The message of Elijah to America is, Look not for God in the cyclone or in the flood; look for him in the impulse which inspired a Nation with a common purpose to help those bereft by the cyclone and the flood.

The difference between the religion of Baal and the religion of Jehovah was not a mere difference in names. The religion of Baal was a religion of nature; the worship of Baal was a worship of force. The religion of Jehovah was a religion of humanity; the worship of Jehovah was a worship of character. The worship of force makes a religion of fear; the worship of character makes a religion of service and love.

The lesson was taught to Israel in the Old Testament times by a simple but striking object-lesson. In all pagan temples was a Holy of Holies in which was placed an image of the object of their worship. In the Jewish Temple, in lieu of such an image, were the Ten Commandments and the Altar of Mercy. The Jewish Temple was continually saying to the people, The divinest objects you know are conscience and compassion: worship them. The same lesson was taught to his disciples by Jesus in the saying, "Our Father." Look, he seems to me to say, for God in what is perhaps the tenderest and most sacred of all relationships, that of parent and child. It was taught by Jesus in the saying, Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. In all civilized governments, he seems to me to say, there is made provision for forgiveness; in all homes there is mercy toward the wrong-doer. If you can thus forgive one another, believe that God can forgive you.

To look through Nature to Nature's God is paganism. To look through Humanity to Humanity's God is Christianity. "God," says Hegel, "is not a spirit beyond the stars; he is a Spirit in all spirits." This is what Jesus means when he says, "God is Spirit."

This is the clue to follow in your endeavor to realize God yourself and to enable your child to realize him. Understand, and teach him to understand, that the forces of Nature are not the interpretation of God's nature; that your child is not to reverence them nor fear them; that they are not his gods, but his servants; that he is greater than they are, and is to understand them, catch them, domesticate them, harness them, make them do his bidding; that his reverence is to be reserved for spiritual qualities as they are manifested in noble men and women; that in conscience enforcing duty and in sympathy inspiring to service he is to hear the still, small voice of God; that, above all, he is to see the image of God in the life and character of Jesus of Nazareth; that what theologians call the Incarnation is not a single episode in the history of the human race, but the supreme realization and revelation of a universal truth that God dwells in man and that in the experience of humanity he is to be sought and found.

Theodore Parker, in a fragment of autobiography, furnishes a concrete illustration of this truth I am endeavoring to put before you. A boy four years old, still in petticoats, he saw a little spotted tortoise sunning himself in the shallow water at the root of a flaming rhodora. He lifted the stick in his hand to strike at the tortoise, as he had seen other boys out of sport kill squirrels and the like.

But all at once something checked my little arm, and a voice within me said, clear and loud, "It is wrong!" I held my uplifted stick in wonder at the new emotion—the consciousness of an involuntary but inward check upon my actions, till the tortoise and the rhodora both vanished from my sight. I hastened home and told the tale to my mother, and asked what was it that told me it was wrong? She wiped a tear from her eye with her apron, and, taking me in her arms, said, "Some men call it conscience, but I prefer to call it the voice of God in the soul of man. If you listen and obey it, then it will speak clearer and clearer, and always guide you right; but if you turn a deaf ear or disobey, then it will fade out little by little, and leave you all in the dark and without a guide. Your life depends on heeding this little voice."

God is not in the tempest, the fire, or the earthquake. He is in the still, small voice.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

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"WE HAVE WITH US TO-DAY ——"

BY CESARE

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THE NEW TARIFF BILL[1]

ITS PROVISIONS AND ITS PRINCIPLES

I—THE PRESIDENT BEFORE CONGRESS

ON the opening day of Congress the crowds attempting to gain admittance were unprecedented. All comments agree that this was due, more than to any other cause, to President Wilson's revival of a long-discarded practice of appearing in person before Congress to deliver what has for many years been called the Presidential Message, but which must now in deference to exactness of language be called the President's Address to Congress.

The impression made both upon Congress and the country seems to have been pleasant, and this impression continued when the President the next day visited the Capitol again, and in the heretofore little-used President's room discussed legislative matters face to face with committees and individual Senators and Representatives. The grumble of ultra-Conservatives about the supposedly direful influence of a "speech from the throne" has been received with laughter.

President Wilson's own reasons were stated by him in these words: "The reasons are very simple. I think it is the most dignified way for the President to address the Houses on the opening of the session, instead of sending the address by messenger and letting the clerk read it perfunctorily. I thought that the dignified and natural thing was to read it. It is a precedent which, it is true, has been discontinued a long time, but which is a very respectable precedent." The Address itself appears upon another page. The following account of the discussion upon the innovation, or restoration, and of the scene itself, comes from a special correspondent of The Outlook in Washington.

HOW CONGRESS FELT ABOUT IT

The last President's Address to Congress was delivered in person by John Adams, November 22, 1800; it was his fourth annual Address, while Washington delivered eight in person; his other communications to Congress were messages in writing. To these annual Addresses each house responded with an address to the President, which in turn called for a reply. It was perhaps this latter practice, after Congress met in Washington for the first time in the closing year of John Adams's administration, that led Jefferson to refer to "the circumstances under which we find ourselves at this place rendering inconvenient the mode heretofore practiced of making by personal address the first communications between the legislative and executive branches," as a reason for sending "a message in writing," the real reason probably being, many say, the well-known fact that Jefferson was as poor a speechmaker as he was gifted with the pen. President Wilson therefore revived a precedent set by the first two Presidents, while breaking the precedents of a hundred and thirteen years.

There was an amusing debate in the Senate on Monday preceding the delivery of the Address, in which Senator Lodge slyly pointed out that this was an early Federalist procedure to which Jefferson and his Republican (later called Democratic) followers objected, while Senator Williams, of Mississippi, confessed his regret that the Jeffersonian custom had been changed. But nobody objected effectively, and the Constitutional right of the President could not be denied. So a joint resolution was passed on the first day of the extra session, making the necessary arrangements for receiving the Address.

THE SCENE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

A few minutes before one o'clock on Tuesday, April 8, Vice-President Marshall stepped down from the President's seat in the Senate and marched with the Secretary of the Senate, followed, two by two, by the Senators, to the House, where he took his seat at the right of Speaker Clark, the Senators occupying the front benches of the

[1] An editorial on this subject, under the title "A Competitive Tariff," will be found on another page.

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THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

I HAVE called the Congress together in extraordinary session because a duty was laid upon the party now in power at the recent elections which it ought to perform promptly in order that the burden carried by the people under existing law may be lightened as soon as possible, and in order, also, that the business interests of the country may not be kept too long in suspense as to what the fiscal changes are to be to which they will be required to adjust themselves. It is clear to the whole country that the tariff duties must be altered. They must be changed to meet the radical alteration in the conditions of our economic life which the country has witnessed within the last generation.

While the whole face and method of our industrial and commercial life were being changed beyond recognition, the tariff schedules have remained what they were before the change began, or have moved in the direction they were given when no large circumstance of our industrial development was what it is to-day. Our task is to square them with the actual facts. The sooner that is done the sooner we shall escape from suffering from the facts and the sooner our men of business will be free to thrive by the law of nature (the nature of free business) instead of by the law of legislation and artificial arrangement.

We have seen the tariff legislation wander very far afield in our day—very far indeed from the field in which our prosperity might have had a normal growth and stimulation. No one who looks the facts squarely in the face or knows anything that lies beneath the surface of action can fail to perceive the principles upon which recent tariff legislation has been based. We long ago passed beyond the modest notion of "protecting" the industries of the country, and moved boldly forward to the idea that they were entitled to the direct patronage of the Government. For a long time—a time so long that the men now active in public policy hardly remember the conditions that preceded it—we have sought in our tariff schedules to give each group of manufacturers or producers what they themselves thought that they needed in order to maintain a practically exclusive market as against the rest of the world. Consciously or unconsciously, we have built up a set of privileges and exemptions from competition behind which it was easy by any, even the crudest, forms of combination to organize monopoly; until at last nothing is normal, nothing is obliged to stand the tests of efficiency and economy, in our world of big business, but everything thrives by concerted arrangement. Our new principles of action will save us from a final hard crystallization of monopoly and a complete loss of the influences that quicken enterprise and keep independent energy alive.

It is plain what those principles must be. We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our business men and producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical, and enterprising, masters of competitive supremacy, better workers and merchants than any in the world. Aside from the duties laid upon articles which we do not and probably cannot produce, therefore, and the duties laid upon luxuries and merely for the sake of the revenues they yield, the object of the tariff duties henceforth laid must be effective competition, the whetting of American wits by contest with the wits of the rest of the world.

It would be unwise to move toward this end headlong, with reckless haste, or with strokes that cut at the very roots of what has grown up among us by long process and at our own invitation. It does not alter a thing to upset it and break it and deprive it of a chance to change. It destroys it. We must make changes in our fiscal laws, in our fiscal system, whose object is development, a more free and wholesome development, not revolution or upset or confusion. We must build up trade, especially foreign trade. We need the outlet and the enlarged field of energy more than we ever did before. We must build up industry as well, and must adopt freedom in the place of artificial stimulation only so far as it will build, not pull down.

In dealing with the tariff the method by which this may be done will be a matter of judgment, exercised item by item. To some not accustomed to the excitements and responsibilities of greater freedom our methods may in some respects and at some points seem heroic; but remedies may be heroic and yet be remedies. It is our business to make sure that they are genuine remedies. Our object is clear. If our motive is above just challenge, and only an occasional error of judgment is chargeable against us, we shall be fortunate.

We are called upon to render the country a great service in more matters than one. Our responsibility should be met and our methods should be thorough, as thorough as moderate and well considered, based upon the facts as they are, and not worked out as if we were beginners. We are to deal with the facts of our own day, with the facts of no other, and to make laws which square with those facts. It is best, indeed it is necessary, to begin with the tariff. I will urge nothing upon you now at the opening of your session which can obscure that first object or divert our energies from that clearly defined duty.

At a later time I may take the liberty of calling your attention to reforms which should press close upon the heels of the tariff changes, if not accompanying them, of which the chief is the reform of our banking and currency laws; but just now I refrain. For the present I put these matters on one side and think only of this one thing—of the changes in our fiscal system which may best serve to open once more the free channels of prosperity to a great people whom we would serve to the utmost and throughout both rank and file.

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House. Shortly afterwards President Wilson, escorted by a committee from each house, entered the hall from the door to the right of the Speaker's stand, while Congress and the crowded galleries rose to their feet.

It was a brilliant scene that met his eyes. The circular benches of the House, which have replaced the old chairs with desks in front, made an attractive appearance from an æsthetic point of view. The hall was crowded, some of those to whom the "thanks of Congress" have been given, like Admiral Dewey, accepting the accompanying privilege of the floor on this occasion. Three former members of the House, now in the Cabinet, Burleson, Redfield, and Wilson, mingled with their former colleagues, while Secretaries Daniels and McAdoo and Attorney-General McReynolds sat with the Senators on the front row. Secretary Lane was in the President's gallery with Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, whose arrival was recognized and applauded, together with ex-Governor Folk, of Missouri, and the wives of several of the Cabinet officers. The diplomatic gallery was also full, and as two cards of admission were issued for each Senator and Representative, there were three or four hundred people who were admitted to the House wing but were unable to obtain seats to witness the ceremony.

Speaker Clark announced simply, "Senators and Representatives, I have the distinguished honor of presenting the President of the United States." The President stepped forward to the reading-desk below and in front of the Speaker's stand, and, with a smile of appreciation for the burst of applause that followed, began with this brief introduction: "I am very glad to have this opportunity to address the two Houses directly and to verify for myself the impression that the President of the United States is a person, and not a mere department of the Government, hailing Congress from some isolated island of jealous power, sending messages, not speaking naturally and with his own voice—that he is a human being trying to co-operate with other human beings in a common service. After this pleasant experience, I shall feel quite normal in all our dealings with one another."

An eye-witness says: "Mr. Wilson acted with a simple dignity which gave no possible hostile interest the opportunity for personal criticism." Doubtless President Wilson will not confine himself to annual messages, but whenever, in his judgment, the need arises for calling the attention of Congress to a particular duty, he will address them again, and perhaps without the aid of a manuscript. The Address was delivered with a voice that was clearly heard in every part of the hall, and the audience listened attentively.

II—THE UNDERWOOD BILL

The tariff bill, prepared by the Democratic majority of the Ways and Means Committee and introduced by Mr. Underwood in the House last week, is a comprehensive undertaking. It not only revises the entire tariff law, but imposes a new tax—on incomes.

The Democratic platform declared it to be "a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government under the Constitution has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue." It pledged the Democratic party to an immediate downward revision, to material reductions upon the necessaries of life, and to putting upon the free list articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products, and articles of American manufacture which are sold abroad more cheaply than at home. The platform further recognized that the tariff is "intimately connected with the business of the country" and declared that the ultimate attainment of the principles advocated by the Democratic party should be secured by legislation "that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry."

ITS SCHEDULES

The present tariff bill has evidently been framed in a sincere attempt to carry out these declarations of the platform.

THE FREE LIST

The new free list presents a much more impressive array than the old one. Many new items have been put upon it in pursuance of the two objects of encouraging competition with trust-made products and reducing the cost of living.

The farmer has been favored by having put upon the free list agricultural implements, wire for fencing, baling hay, etc., hoop and band iron for baling cotton, etc., and harness. The newspaper manufacturers have been favored by declaring free the paper

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THE NEW TARIFF PROVIDES FOR
Free Wool
Free Sugar after three years, with an immediate reduction of 25%
Free Print Paper and Wood Pulp
Free Trade with the Philippines
Free Steel Rails
Free Lumber
Taxed Diamonds, Precious Stones, Furs, Ivory, instead of free

upon which newspapers are printed. Presumably in an endeavor to curb certain trusts, there have been put on the free list steel rails, typewriters, sewing machines, typesetting machines, cash registers. The general public finds itself favored in the free list by the inclusion of boots and shoes, lumber, coal, pigs, bacon and hams, fresh meat, potatoes, wheat flour, oatmeal and rolled oats, raw wool, and (to take effect at the end of three years) sugar.

The most impressive addition to the free list is that of raw wool. There is now a duty upon wool of about thirty-five per cent. This change is one illustration of the willingness of the framers of the bill to sacrifice revenue, where necessary, for the accomplishment of one or more of the other objects which they had in mind in preparing the bill. The placing of raw wool upon the free list means a sacrifice of revenue of about fourteen million dollars. A second illustration of the same willingness is in the provision putting sugar, after three years, upon the free list. By this one stroke fifty million dollars of revenue will be sacrificed.

THE MARKET BASKET

In addition to the accessions to the free list, whose aim is the reduction of the cost of living, there are proposed many reductions in duties to the same end. The rate on butter has been reduced from 6 to 3 cents a pound, on eggs from 5 to 2 cents a dozen, on cattle from 27 per cent to 10 per cent, on sheep from 16 to 10 per cent, on fruits from 27 to 15 per cent, on lemons and citrous fruits from 68 to 24 per cent, and on poultry from 13 to 6 per cent.

THE FAMILY'S CLOTHING

In addition to these concessions to his market basket the average man finds other reductions aimed at in the materials of the clothes which he and his family wear. While raw wool is on the free list, the manufactures not only of wool but of cotton have been sharply reduced. The rate on woolen yarns has been reduced from 79 to 20 per cent; on woolen blankets from 72 to 25 per cent; on flannels from 93 to 25 and 35 per cent; on dress goods from 99 to 35 per cent; on ready-made woolen clothing from 79 to 35 per cent; and on carpets from rates ranging from 60 to 82 per cent to rates ranging from 30 to 35 per cent.

The rates in the cotton schedule have also met with decided reductions. On cotton cloth the reduction is from rates ranging between 30 and 40 per cent, to rates ranging between 7½ per cent and 27½ per cent; on handkerchiefs, where the old rate was from 50 to 60 per cent, the proposed rate is 30 per cent. On ready-made clothing of cotton the rates are reduced from 50 to 25 per cent; on cotton hosiery from 75 to 50 per cent; on cotton gloves from 89 to 36 per cent; on underwear from 60 to 25 per cent; on collars and cuffs from 64 to 25 per cent.

LUXURIES

It is in the realm of what might be regarded as luxuries that the smallest reductions have been made as well as some increases. Diamonds and other precious stones, furs, and ivory have been transferred from the free list to the dutiable list. On jewelry the reduction has been only from 85 per cent to 60 per cent. In the silk schedule manufactured goods have been cut only from 21 to 15 per cent; spun silk yarns from 37 to 35 per cent; silk wearing apparel from 60 to 50 per cent, and ribbons from 50 to 40 per cent. On perfumes, toilet soaps, wines, and to-

THE NEW TARIFF AND THE MARKET BASKET

	Present rate of duty.	Proposed rate of duty.
Cattle	21 to 27½%	10%
Swine	$1.50 per head	Free
Sheep	14 to 18%	10%
Buckwheat	15c. bushel	8c. bushel
Rice, cleaned	2c. lb.	1c. lb.
Wheat	25c. bushel	10c. bushel
Wheat Flour	25%	Free
Butter	6c. lb.	3c. lb.
Beans	45c. bushel	25c. bushel
Cheese	31%	20%
Eggs	5c. doz.	2c. doz.
Mackerel	1c. lb.	Free
Cranberries	25%	10%
Bacon and Hams	4c. lb.	Free
Poultry, live	3c. lb.	1c. lb.
" dead	5c. lb.	2c. lb.

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bacco there have been practically no reductions. The rate on automobiles is the same as in the present law. Trimmed hats and bonnets are reduced only from 50 to 40 per cent.

ITS POSSIBLE EFFECTS

On the face of the proposed schedules the effect of the new law should apparently be to lower the cost of living, provided it is reasonable to expect that as tariff rates go down prices will follow. But it is proverbially dangerous to prophesy unless you know, and the effect of the tariff is one of those things about which this is pre-eminently true. The Payne-Aldrich Law took the duties off hides—and the price of hides went up! The framers of the Underwood Bill have unquestionably gone about their work with the intention of reducing the cost of living. Whether what they have done will actually have that desirable result, however, it will remain for experience to show.

HOW THE HOUSEHOLDER IS CONCERNED

In considering the relation of the new tariff schedules to the average householder it should be remembered that there are two important elements to be considered—one, the prices at which things are to be bought; the other, the amount of money available with which to buy them. Low prices are some compensation for a lean pocketbook, but in order to be a material compensation the prices must drop faster and drop farther than the income. In considering the effect of the tariff on the cost of living there must be taken into consideration not only its effect upon prices, but its effect upon general prosperity, and consequently upon the wages and salary of the workers. The Democrats recognized this fact when they declared their intention to revise the tariff by legislation that would not "injure or destroy legitimate industry." Whether they will find it possible to bring about the other results which they have in view without departing from this intention of theirs is a vexed question.

THE OPINIONS OF SOME PRODUCERS

Though the effect of the proposed tariff bill cannot be exactly predicted, producers are already trying to foresee what the effect will be on their respective lines of business.

We have received from various sources communications which afford indications of the way in which the proposed new tariff is viewed by producers in several lines of industry.

WHAT SOME FARMERS THINK

There are farmers, for instance, who are wondering what the effect of taking the duty off of the great mass of farm products will be. If, for example, the taking off of the duty on one crop will make that unprofitable, even if the taking off of corresponding duties on other crops will not have the effect of making those crops unprofitable, these farmers foresee that that will affect crop rotation. And whatever disturbs crop rotation affects the fertility of the soil, and therefore the production of other crops besides the one eliminated. They believe that free wool will interfere not only with the production of wool on the backs of the sheep, but also with

THE NEW FREE LIST

Iron Ore
Hoop or Band Iron for baling cotton, etc.
Nails and Spikes
Tacks and Brads
Barb Wire
Wire for fencing, baling hay, etc.
Steel Rails
Cash Registers
Typesetting Machines
Sewing Machines
Typewriters
Boards and Planks
Clapboards
Laths
Shingles
Timber, hewn or squared
Bacon and Hams
Beef, Veal, Mutton, Lamb, and Pork, fresh
Milk
Cream
Corn Meal
Oatmeal and Rolled Oats
Wheat Flour
Potatoes
Salt
Swine
Raw Wool
Wood Pulp
Printing Paper valued at not more than two and one-half cents per pound
Coal
Boots and Shoes
Harness
Agricultural Implements
And many other items

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the production of mutton, and will tend to make meat dearer. It will also, they believe, interfere with many farmers in the Middle West, not wool-raisers, who are accustomed to fatten the sheep supplied by the wool-growers of the Far West for market. They expect that they will have to economize; that they will have to reduce the wages of farm hands, and that there will be a consequent loss of efficiency in farming. As the farmers and their families and those dependent upon them constitute about a half of our population, any lowering of their standards of living means a curtailment of their purchasing power and a consequent injury to all business.

WHAT SOME PAPER MANUFACTURERS THINK

There are paper manufacturers who see in the paper schedules some threat of ill. Making newsprint paper free from all tariff duties without any corresponding provision to induce or force Canada to remove its restrictions on exportation of the wood from which newsprint paper is made will mean not only, in their opinion, an injury to the manufacturers of newsprint paper, but also an injury to our forests. The standing timber that is now held by paper-mill owners will, they believe, have to be cut down ruthlessly in order to provide the material cheap enough to enable the manufacturer to compete with the importer. Some of the mills now devoted to manufacturing paper will, they believe, be turned into power plants for other purposes, and, when thus transformed, will never be used again for paper manufacturing. If once this transformatiou takes place, there will be little chance that the paper industry in those places will ever be revived on a basis of scientific forestry for the production of its raw material.

WHAT SOME IN THE SUGAR INDUSTRY THINK

Sugar refiners see some advantages in the radical reduction or even abolition of the duties on raw sugar, though, of course, as the American Sugar Refining Company has said, it will be an advantage to them if a "small differential duty as a protection upon refined sugar is retained." But even some refiners object to free sugar and hold with the producers of the raw sugar that the abolition of all tariff on sugar would result ultimately in higher prices for the consumer. They argue that free sugar would do away with the stimulus which is now afforded to the cane sugar growers of Louisiana, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, and the beet sugar growers of the West, and that when once these producers turn to other crops the present competitive basis upon which sugar is produced would be destroyed and the price of sugar to the producer would go up. They also see what every one can see, that free sugar would have a very pronounced effect upon conditions in Cuba.

These are examples of the way in which producers are trying to foresee the effect of the new tariff. All the evils that they imagine may not come to pass, but it is the part of wisdom for such producers to be prepared for them.

III—THE INCOME TAX

In attempting to accomplish the two purposes of restoring competition and reducing the cost of living, the framers of the tariff bill have been forced to sacrifice much revenue. The Underwood Bill, if it becomes law as it now stands, will, it is estimated, produce over a hundred millions less of revenue than does the present tariff. This difference it is proposed to make up through an income tax.

Democrats have long desired to tax incomes. An income tax law was passed in 1894, but was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. It was only two months ago that the amendment permitting the levying of an income tax became a part of the Constitution. The Democrats have lost no time. An income tax is levied by Section II of the Underwood Bill.

THE RATES

The section levies a tax upon all incomes of more than $4,000. The citizen whose net income is less than $4,000 (with one exception, which we shall describe later, due to the tax on corporations) will pay no income tax. The rate of tax is fixed at one per cent. This *normal tax*, as it is called, will be paid on the entire income less the $4,000 which is exempt. But there are further payments to be made on large incomes. On that part of an individual's income between $20,000 and $50,000 he will pay an *additional tax*,

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as it is called, of one per cent. On that part of his income between $50,000 and $100,000 he will pay an *additional tax* of two per cent. On that part of his income above $100,000 he will pay an *additional tax* of three per cent.

HOW THE RATES WILL BE APPLIED

Examples will show how these rates will be applied. The worker whose only income is a salary of $2,000 or $3,000 or $3,900, or the man whose only income from other sources is $2,000 or $3,000 or $3,900, will pay no tax at all.

The man whose income is $7,000 will pay the *normal tax* of one per cent on $3,000 (his income less the $4,000 exemption), or $30.

The man with an income of $28,000 will pay, first, the *normal tax* of one per cent on $24,000 (his income less $4,000), or $240; second, the *additional tax* of one per cent on $8,000 (the portion of his income above $20,000), or $80. His total income tax, therefore, will be $320.

The man with an income of $63,000 will pay, first, the *normal tax* of one per cent on $59,000 (his income less $4,000), or $590; second, the *additional tax* of one per cent on $30,000 (the portion of his income between $20,000 and $50,000), or $300; third, the *additional tax* of two per cent on $13,000 (the portion of his income which exceeds $50,000), or $130. He will pay, therefore, a total income tax of $590 plus $300 plus $130, or $1,020.

The man whose income is $110,000 will pay, first, the *normal tax* of one per cent on $106,000 (his income less $4,000), or $1,060; second, the *additional tax* of one per cent on $30,000 (the portion of his income between $20,000 and $50,000), or $300; third, the *additional tax* of two per cent on $50,000 (the portion of his income between $50,000 and $100,000), or $500; fourth, the *additional tax* of three per cent on $10,000, (the portion of his income above $100,000) or $100. His total income tax, therefore, will be $1,060 plus $300 plus $500 plus $100, or $1,960.

NET INCOME

The tax at these different rates is to be levied upon the net income of the individual. This includes the entire income of the individual from all sources, with certain specified deductions and exemptions. The comprehensiveness of the term net income as used in the bill is indicated by the sub-section in which it is defined. This reads as follows:

That, subject only to such exemptions and deductions as are hereinafter allowed, the net income of a taxable person shall include gains, profits, and income derived from salaries, wages, or compensation for personal service of whatever kind and in whatever form paid, or from professions, vocations, businesses, trade, commerce, or sales or dealings in property, whether real or personal, growing out of the ownership or use of or interest in real or personal property, also from interest, rent, dividends, securities, or the transaction of any lawful business carried on for gain or profit, or gains or profits and income derived from any source whatever, including the income from but not the value of property acquired by bequest, devise, or descent, and also the proceeds of life insurance policies paid upon the death of the person insured.

In computing the net income certain deductions are allowed, including:

The necessary expense of carrying on any business.

Interest payable by the individual on indebtedness.

National, State, county, school, and municipal taxes.

Loss in trade or from fires, storm, or shipwreck.

THE INCOME TAX SECTION OF THE TARIFF BILL IMPOSES ANNUALLY

upon the Entire Net Income of the individual over and above $4,000 a *normal tax* of.....	1 per cent
upon that part of the individual's Net Income over $20,000, and under $50,000, an *additional tax* of.....	1 per cent
upon that part of the individual's Net Income over $50,000, and under $100,000, an *additional tax* of.....	2 per cent
upon that part of the individual's Net Income over $100,000, an *additional tax* of.....	3 per cent

Note 1—The Entire Net Income is obtained by deducting from the individual's income *from all sources*
Taxes
Interest on indebtedness
Losses
Bad debts
Expenses of carrying on business
Reasonable allowance for wear and tear on property
Dividends from stock of corporations

Note 2—The tax on the profits of corporations is to be paid directly by the corporation, before dividends are paid to stockholders, at a flat rate of 1 per cent

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MR. A.—INCOME, $3,500 from SALARY
No tax

MR. B.—INCOME, $3,500 from DIVIDENDS
TAX: 1% $35
Tax paid direct by corporation before dividend is declared. It may therefore not come out of dividends at all but out of savings in other directions. This is the same tax that is now paid under the corporation tax law.

MR. C.—INCOME, $4,500 from SALARY
TAX: 1% on $500—salary less $4,000, exempt..... $5
Tax deducted by employer from salary and paid direct to Government—being paid, that is, "at the source."

MR. D.—INCOME, $4,500 from DIVIDENDS
TAX (no exemption)..... $45
Tax paid direct by corporation. (See note under Mr. B. above.)

MR. E.—INCOME, $4,500 from RENTS
TAX..... $5
Tax paid direct by Mr. E., or "at the source."

MR. F.—INCOME, $15,000 from SALARY or RENTS
TAX: 1% on $11,000 .... $110
Tax paid direct or "at the source."

MR. G.—INCOME, $15,000 from DIVIDENDS
TAX: 1% on $15,000.....$150
Tax paid direct by corporation. (See note under Mr. B. above.)

MR. H.—INCOME, $30,000 from SALARY or RENTS
TAX: 1% on $26,000 ($30,000 less the $4,000 exemption)..... $260
1% additional on $10,000..... 100
Total tax..... $360
Tax paid direct or "at the source."

MR. I.—INCOME, $30,000 from DIVIDENDS
TAX: 1% on $30,000 ..... $300
Tax paid direct by corporation. (See note under Mr. B. above.)

MR. J.—INCOME, $60,000 from RENTS
TAX: 1% on $56,000..... $560
1% additional on $30,000... 300
2% additional on $6,000.... 120
Total tax..... $980
Tax paid direct or "at the source."

MR. K.—INCOME, $60,000 from DIVIDENDS
TAX: 1% on $60,000..... $600
Tax paid direct by corporation. (See note under Mr. B. above.)

SOME INEQUALITIES OF THE PROPOSED INCOME TAX

Worthless debts charged off during the year.

A reasonable allowance for wear and tear of property used in business.

Dividends upon the stock of any corporation or company.

There are further allowed in computing the net income certain exemptions:

Interest upon the obligations of a State or any political subdivision of a State, and upon the obligations of the United States, the principal and interest of which are now exempt by law from Federal taxation.

The compensation of the present President of the United States.

The compensation of judges of the Federal courts, now in office.

The compensation of all officers and employees of a State or any political subdivision of a State.

THE TAX ON CORPORATE PROFITS

Among these exemptions are included dividends upon the stock of corporations. This does not mean, however, that the profits of corporations from which dividends are paid are not to be taxed. Such profits are now taxed at a uniform rate of one per cent under the Corporation Tax Law, and this taxation is continued by the Underwood Bill. It does mean, however, that after the corporation has paid its dividends and the stockholder has received them, the stockholder will not count them as part of his income in determining how much income tax he is to pay. The bearing of this condition of affairs upon the questions raised by the bill we shall consider in a moment.

PAYMENT "AT THE SOURCE"

As much of the tax as possible is to be paid "at the source." This means that an employer, for instance, who pays an annual salary to any employee of more than $4,000 must make a return of that fact to the Government and must withhold from the salary of the employee and pay to the Government the proper amount to cover the income tax upon it. The same thing is true of lessees or mortgagors of real or personal property, trustees, executors, administrators, and receivers. The tax upon the income paid to an individual under an annual arrangement by any one belonging to any of these classes is to be paid, not by the recipient of the income, but by the one with whom it originates. The employer will pay the tax for the employee; the lessee of a building will pay the tax for the owner; the mortgagor

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will pay the tax for the mortgagee; the trustee will pay the tax for his ward; the executor will pay the tax for the heir—the tax will be paid wherever possible "at the source." In order that these payments "at the source" may be properly computed and paid, the recipient of the income under any of these relationships must file with the other party to the relationship, who is to pay the tax, a return of his income from all other sources and of the deductions which he claims under the provisions of the bill. If the income on which under this provision the tax would be paid "at the source" is less than $4,000, it must be included in the personal return made by the recipient of it, and the tax on his aggregate income, if any, paid direct.

SOME QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE TAX

A careful reading of the income tax section raises several important questions. We shall not attempt to answer them now. But they need the most careful consideration before the section becomes law. Here are some of these questions:

The most powerful argument against an income tax is that it is chiefly a tax on industry, on ability, on energy, rather than a tax on property. Does not the tax here proposed emphasize this argument by increasing the discrimination in favor of property? We print on the adjoining page some examples of the application of the tax which suggest an affirmative answer.

Is the amount of the exemption—$4,000—too high? In England the exemption starts with $800 and decreases as the income increases, until on incomes above $3,500 there is no exemption at all.

Are there not discriminations not only between property and industry, but between different kinds of property? Is not, for example, the owner of real estate compelled to pay a higher rate of taxation than the stockholder in a corporation, provided the income of each is sufficiently high to come within the sphere of the additional tax?

Will, in point of fact, the individual whose income is wholly or largely composed of dividends from corporations feel the tax at all? There is proposed no increase in the present corporation tax. We have not seen or heard any report or intimation that the dividends of corporations have in any material way been affected by the corporation tax. The temptation to the managers of corporations to keep up the rate of dividend, and to pay the tax out of savings in wages or in the quality of the product or otherwise, is obvious.

Why should the possessor of a large income, either from salary or from rents or from any other source than dividends from corporations, be compelled to pay the additional tax if his income goes beyond $20,000, and the individual whose income is from dividends be subject only to the normal tax on his whole income (and even that indirectly)?

Does not the provision that the possessor of an income, the tax on which is paid "at the source," must render to his employer, or whoever pays the tax, the complete account of his entire income, open the way to compulsory revelations with regard to personal affairs which may be of serious detriment to the individual?

IV—THE PROPOSED TARIFF

A POLL OF THE PRESS

That foremost Republican organ, the New York "Tribune," says of the new Democratic tariff: "The 'administration' tariff bill, made public yesterday, represents on the whole a courageous and intelligent effort to redeem Democratic promises." The bill introduced in the House yesterday gives the people promise of the first honest tariff reduction in fifty-six years, asserts the Florida "Times-Union" (Dem.), of Jacksonville. "Bills introduced in the last Congress, as far as they went, fixed duties at about the same level as characterizes the bill now before the House; but they touched only certain schedules, while the present bill covers the whole list."

The Springfield "Republican" (Ind.) says that, "from the Democratic view-point, the bill seems to measure up to the requirements of the party's declared policy, whether that policy be fundamentally right or wrong." But is that a tariff-for-revenue-only policy? Hardly. As the Newark "News" (Ind.) remarks, "American industry cannot get along without a measure of protection." But "the schedules are a complete and honorable redemption of the Democratic pledge,

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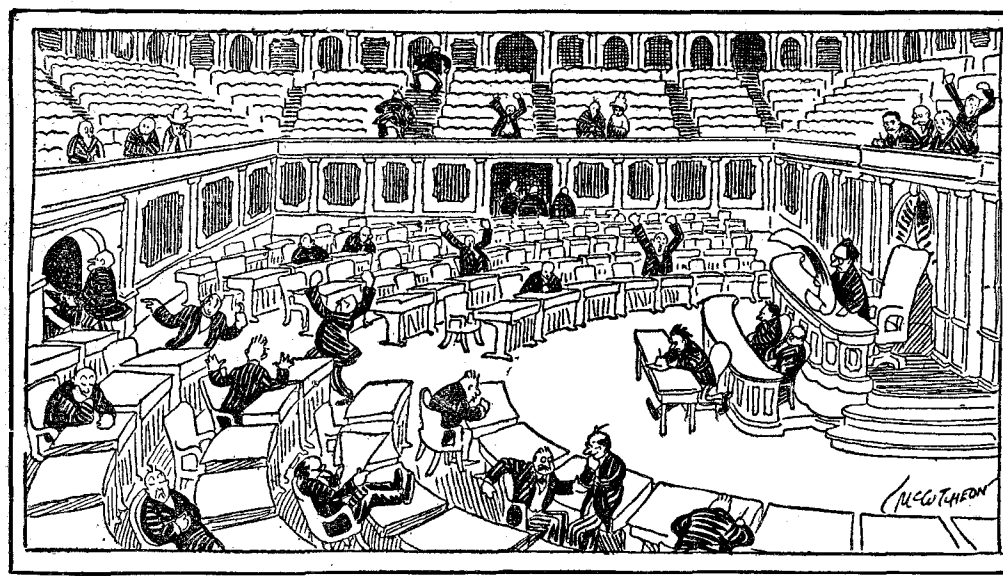

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"READING OF MESSAGE BY CLERK—OLD STYLE METHOD"

Cartoon by John T. McCutcheon

it is a pleasure to chronicle. They square excellently with the Democratic policy, and if there is to be complaint it must be leveled at the policy, and not the application thereof, which is courageously and honestly consistent."

SCHEDULE BY SCHEDULE

As to the criticism that the schedule-by-schedule revision would have been the better policy, the Knoxville "Sentinel" (Dem.), admits that it would have enabled the managers of the tariff revision to marshal the schedules in whatever order they desired, and permit a spying out of the land before the big schedules were brought on. "There would be fewer opportunities for log-rolling," the editorial adds. But the paper protests that "it is a good plan not to debate with the doctor to whom you have intrusted your case." Besides this, "if there were only one house of Congress, schedule-by-schedule revision would indeed promise certain advantages. But who is to prevent the Senate from piling up the separate bills and finally acting upon all of them at once?"

The Boston "Transcript" (Ind. Rep.) adds: "When the best and the worst has been said of the new tariff bill introduced in Congress to-day, the fact remains that the method of its making has been haphazard. No thorough investigation by experts of the effect of the new schedules or of their justice or necessity has been made. Hearings were held, but no adequate opportunity was offered for a thorough presentation of the facts."

WOOL

A duty on raw wool, says the Washington "Herald" (Ind.), is not defensible unless that duty is adequate to protect the domestic wool-growing industry. "Any duty less than a protective duty is from the point of view of the wool-grower as undesirable as no duty at all, and a duty on raw wool for the purpose of raising revenue taxes a product which is a vital necessity to all consumers."

The Philadelphia "Ledger" (Ind.) notes that if the manufacturer was not really to suffer it would have been impossible to make the sharp reductions in woolen manufactures unless these cuts had been accompanied by proportionate reductions in the raw material, which the manufacturer must have at a fair price. "In this instance it is plain that free wool is in the nature of protection to the manufacturer."

On the other hand, the Buffalo "Express" (Ind. Rep.) protests that the production of wool in the United States is about 318,000,000 pounds and the consumption is about 510,000,000 pounds, and that only 21.16 per cent of the total amount of fine wool used in the United States is imported. "Here, then," concludes the "Express," "is a distinctly domestic industry, which is entitled to pro-

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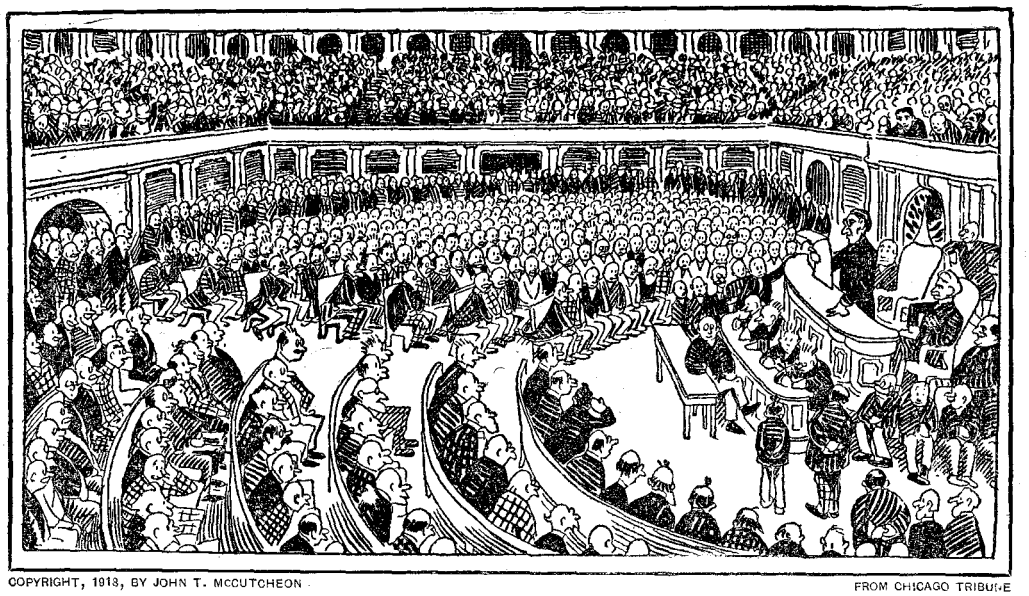

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"READING OF MESSAGE BY PRESIDENT—MODERN WILSONIAN METHOD"

Cartoon by John T. McCutcheon

tection by all the reasoning which makes protection a sound policy."

SUGAR

"Outside of the Democratic States of Louisiana and Texas and a few beet-growing sections in the West, there will be few tears shed if sugar is placed on the free list," says the Buffalo "Express," and adds, "Certainly there is small reason why the ordinary protectionist should be disposed to make a fight for sugar."

"Free raw material" loses much of its promise to the consumers when one of the few fellows to manufacture it is the Sugar Trust, declares the Columbia, South Carolina, "State" (Dem.).

Take the tax off sugar, says the "State," and the average poor family would be saved perhaps $2 a year, but the Government would lose between $50,000,000 and $60,000,000 in revenue. "One of the practical questions presenting itself is whether sugar might not be made to pay $30,000,000 to $40,000,000 in revenue, at a nominal cost to the poorer class of consumers, and that amount of revenue enable the tariff reformers to make reductions on other tariffs."

But would a reduction in price be guaranteed to the consumer? inquires the Greensboro, North Carolina, "Record" (Dem.). Reduce the tariff on woolen goods, manufactured steel, or any one of a hundred other schedules, it says, to a point where foreign manufacturers can pay the tariff tax and compete with the American manufacturer, and we are assured the foreigner would come here and enter into competition. "But reduce or remove the tariff on sugar and there is no guarantee of a reduction to the ordinary consumer, because the duty is on raw sugar and is paid before the sugar comes to the American refineries. If, for any cause, the price is not reduced to the American consumer, no foreigners can come here and force reduction by competition in refined sugar."

Instead of a member of President Wilson's Cabinet, remarks the New Orleans "Item" (Ind.), Louisiana is to get, if President Wilson's purpose rules, the execution of an industry upon which one-fifth of her population depends for a livelihood, and on which is based at least a third of her domestic commerce and trade.

THE EFFECT ON LABOR

A few of the members of the present Congress are employers of labor or are actively and financially interested in our foreign trade, comments the Philadelphia "Telegraph" (Rep.), and adds:

They have nothing to lose by the change they seem bent on making. But for all that, they must remember that they are not legislating for themselves, but for the whole country. And the country has immense interests at

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stake which vitally affect the future of labor as well as capital.

Dislike and disguise it as we may, the fact remains that, unless capital can see a substantial return upon its investments, it will withdraw them from the market. And with this withdrawal the wherewithal of labor disappears likewise. Capital may weather such a situation by foreign or other non-competitive investments, but labor cannot change its habitat with the same ease.

As to the funds which the farmers will have in hand to pay for the laborers they hire, the New York "Press" (Prog.) says of the Democrats:

They can't save the farmers from injury without maintaining prices for consumers. They can't smash the prices of food products for consumers without hurting the farmers. The prices of agricultural products can't stay up without American consumers paying them. The prices of food products can't go down without the farmers taking that loss.

It is a mathematical and an economic impossibility that the consumer can pay low prices and the farmer get high prices.

This view is disputed by those who assert that the high price of farm products is due to the middlemen and waste in transportation, and not to the overpaid farmer.

THE COST OF LIVING

The Burlington "Free Press" (Rep.) asks, What will be the effect of the new Tariff Bill upon our National prosperity? and answers thus: "If the Democrats are correct, the prosperity of the American people ought to increase, or at least not be lessened. If the Republicans are correct and protection is still a desirable thing for the products of American labor, then it will follow as a natural result that some lines of industry will be crippled."

"The people will greatly profit in reduced cost of their food and clothing," declares the Harrisburg "Patriot" (Dem.), "while there is nothing in the bill to interfere with legitimate business and nothing to halt the great prosperity we are enjoying or the prodigious material and intellectual progress we are making."

"It will save to the consumers a billion dollars a year," avers the Jacksonville, Florida, "Times-Union" (Dem.)—"to the average family $50 a year."

The Democratic tariff bill proposes to put most foodstuffs on the free list. But it is not altogether clear, says the Washington "Times" (Prog.), how the American consumer can get such benefit from the reductions as he has been led to believe would come to him. "The price of beef, for example, has been largely rising in response to the law of supply and demand. With a rapidly increasing population in this country to ask for more and more meat, the actual numbers of cattle on the ranges have been diminishing." The "Times" concludes:

It may be, therefore, that all food products can go on the free list without achieving the object that is essential to lower prices in this country—an adequate supply to fill the demand. If the supply does not exist—the adequate supply—then neither the Democratic tariff nor any other tariff can bring it into this country from abroad. And it is not to be conceived that if, under a stimulating tariff, the home supply has diminished positively in some cases, relatively in nearly all cases, it will increase under a discouraging tariff.

RECIPROCITY

A striking feature of the tariff measure is reciprocity with Canada and any other country that will reciprocate. The Burlington "Free Press" (Rep.) says:

President Taft sought to reduce the price of living by proposing a moderate revision of the tariff and making the importation of certain products from Canada free of duty. President Wilson aims at a similar result. . . .

"Where the Republicans have failed, the Democrats have now their towering chance," announces the New York "American" (Dem.) and adds:

Pan-American reciprocity will be a gorgeous feather in the cap of Democracy. It was the crest of the "Plumed Knight" of Republicanism. The policy for which Blaine and Arthur and President McKinley in his last great speech pleaded—the policy defeated by special privilege under every Republican administration—may become the corner-stone of Democratic achievement.

THE SHIPPING PROVISION

Another notable feature is the provision that a concession of five per cent shall be granted to all foreign goods imported in American-built ships, owned wholly by Americans—"an intelligent purpose to encourage American shipping," says the New York "American" (Dem.).

THE INCOME TAX

The New York "Globe" (Rep.) thinks that "the income features of the new bill will be approved by all except a negligible minority."

The vital principle of the new tariff is that it dispenses with a large amount of the reve-

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nue now raised by customs taxation and attempts to collect the necessary money for the conduct of the Government by an income tax. But this is the point where it is radically wrong, asserts the Buffalo "Express" (Ind. Rep.). Speaking of certain beneficial results from tariff schedules, it declares that "no such results can come from an income tax. . . . Just as mortgage taxes increase interest rates, so income taxes will increase prices."

The Democratic National platform demanded and promised a tariff sufficient for revenue only of a Government honestly and economically administered, affirms the Burlington "Free Press" (Rep.). "President Wilson has gone far beyond this by forcing his party to propose a tariff measure that will admittedly reduce the revenue from customs duties at least $80,000,000 a year." The paper adds:

To make good this deficiency our Democratic friends propose a Federal income tax, which was voted by the different States on the plea that it would be used only in a great emergency by the Federal Government, leaving the income tax available principally by the individual States. As the matter now stands the Federal tax will be added to that already paid by taxpayers everywhere. . . .

A COMPETITIVE TARIFF

As a result of all the above, so the Democrats say, the tariff situation in America has been made "competitive." This pleases the foreigners, of course. President Wilson's message to Congress concerning a competitive tariff has caused an excellent impression abroad, especially in Italy, not only because reductions in the tariff will prove advantageous to that country, whose exportation to the United States is constantly increasing, but because of the general satisfaction over the fact that the United States is ready to accept the competition of European countries in matters of commerce. The Italian newspapers publish the message extensively, and point out that Italy will gain particularly in the export of oils, fruits, chemicals, medicines, cotton, wool, silk, leather, and cheese.

Other foreign comment comes chiefly from London, where the "Daily News" editorially welcomes President Wilson's tariff bill as the heaviest blow struck at protection since Peel established free trade in England. It says that the introduction of the bill is an event of supreme moment, not only in the United States, but to the world.

The "Daily Chronicle's" editorial says:

The British tariff reformers will try to comfort themselves by reflecting that the President is not a free-trader because he does not propose at one stroke to chop off the whole protectionist duties in the United States; but, judged by this test, neither Peel nor Gladstone was a free-trader. They recognized, as Wilson does, that a nation can only free itself from bondage to a tariff by degrees. That, indeed, is one of the worst features of protection—that you can establish it in haste but must undo it slowly.

We do not mind what Wilson calls himself, or what British tariffists call him, while he inspires legislation of this character. Every word of it is a blow to free America from the same chains that tariff reform would fain forge for Great Britain.

On the other hand, the "Daily Express," an advocate of the reform of the English tariff in the direction of increased protection, says that the changes proposed in the American tariff are entirely consonant with the policy and ideas of English tariff reformers, who will congratulate President Wilson on his excellent intention in lowering the Chinese wall which has been built around the commerce and manufactures of the country, inevitably encouraging the abuses of trusts and monopolies.

The New York "World" (Dem.) thus concludes:

The Underwood Tariff Bill is not a free-trade measure.

It is not a tariff-for-revenue-only measure.

It retains the protective principle wherever, in the opinion of its authors, the protective principle is desirable or necessary.

Primarily it is a bill to lower the cost of living to the consumer, and to squeeze the graft and jobbery and monopoly profits out of the protective schedules. It is a bill designed, as Mr. Underwood says, "to revise the tariff to a basis of legitimate competition, such as will afford a wholesome influence on our commerce, bring relief to the people in the matter of the high cost of living, and at the same time work no detriment to properly conducted manufacturing industries."

In other words, it is a competitive tariff substituted for a monopoly tariff.

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THE BASEBALL FAN AND THE BOX-SCORE

BY FRANK B. ELSER

ALL authorities to the contrary notwithstanding, baseball is a burden! It is a burden to the newspapers and press associations, and a heavy one. Each year the army of American "fans" grows larger and more fastidious in its demands for baseball news, until, like the Old Man of the Sea, the Twentieth Century Old Man of the Diamond has a strangle-hold on the "sporting desk" of the newspapers, and, cheered by a baseball-mad public, he is squeezing tighter every season.

It is true that baseball reports are circulation builders and that "the people just will have it," but it is doubtful if there is a newspaper owner in the country—owner, not sporting editor—who would not gladly be rid of the box-score burden if he could. Certainly the news associations would. Several years ago the Associated Press, whose religion is facts and whose watchword is conciseness, seriously considered eliminating box-scores from its service. Immediately there was a protesting flutter from the pulse of fandom, and the idea was abandoned.

To-day, that is, during the playing season, the Associated Press is carrying over its forty thousand miles of leased wires full box-scores of every game in the National and American Leagues to approximately two hundred and fifty morning papers! And that's not the end. In addition to the major league box-scores, which go to every morning paper on the so-called trunk wires, there are the minor league and college games to be reported and handled. Thus, on a wire running from New York City to Albany, for instance, there are sent every playing night during the season eight major league box-scores, four boxes of the New York State League, and the results of the International League and the American Association. This double or triple catering to Mr. Fan holds true on every circuit where there are points with minor league clubs. Southern circuits must carry Southern League box-scores and those of the major leagues; the Middle West has the American Association and the major league box-scores; and so on through the Tri-State and out to the Pacific Coast. Surely the baseball enthusiast is a pampered mortal.

If you will sit down some time and study the sporting page of your morning newspaper, you will see that a box-score is a pretty intricate sort of thing to be sent by telegraph and copied on a typewriter. You will observe that, besides the line-ups of the respective teams, there are six columns of figures from "At Bat" to "Errors," and underneath these columns a series of totals. Then there are the runs by innings, and finally, to round out this minute analysis for the "fans'" information and amusement, a general summary down to the umpires' names and the exact time of the game. What other activity of man is as thoroughly reported?

If you think copying a box-score is easy, just try it on a typewriter and see how fast you can go, keeping the columns straight and the totals correct. If it was being pumped at you in dots and dashes over a wire swinging from Chicago to New York, with twelve points copying simultaneously, when a break would tie up the whole line, I think maybe you would scream and throw your typewriter on the floor. It takes a good operator just seven minutes to copy a box-score; hence, with sixteen major league teams playing, this means eight games, or fifty-six minutes of wire time taken up every night during the season with the big league box-scores alone. On circuits where there are minor league box-scores to be sent, it means double that time, or nearly two hours. On "double-header" days multiply this by two.

In fifty-six minutes nearly three thousand words of "straight" news matter can be transmitted over a wire, and it's a mighty good story that gets that much space in the average American newspaper. On the night of the Triangle Waist Company fire in New York, in which one hundred and forty-six lives were lost, the Associated Press handled a story of nearly four thousand words, but it was cleared on the wires from coast to coast in about half the time that is required for box-scores on the New York-Albany wire every night when the major leagues and State league games are in swing.

And baseball is "must" news, too. It must go promptly and go ahead of everything except markets. Of course in case of a National disaster it would be superseded, but it is sidetracked only for news happenings of world-wide interest. The papers must have their market reports; the market pages are inside pages and are made up early. For this reason the markets are sacred. Sporting

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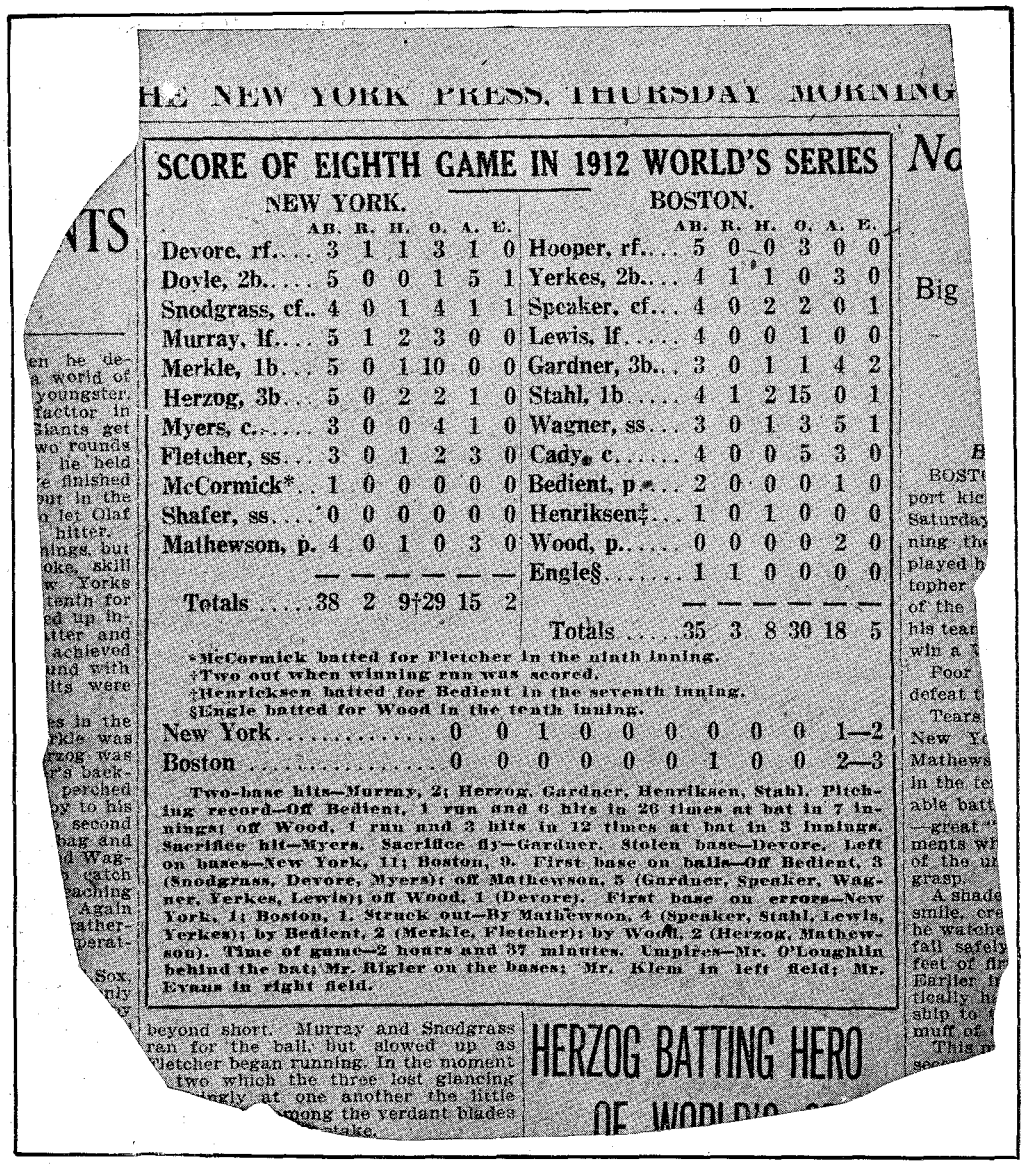

HE NEW YORK PRESS, THURSDAY MORNING

SCORE OF EIGHTH GAME IN 1912 WORLD'S SERIES

NEW YORK.	AB.	R.	H.	O.	A.	E.
Devore, rf.	3	1	1	3	1	0
Doyle, 2b.	5	0	0	1	5	1
Snodgrass, cf.	4	0	1	4	1	1
Murray, lf.	5	1	2	3	0	0
Merkle, 1b.	5	0	1	10	0	0
Herzog, 3b.	5	0	2	2	1	0
Myers, c.	3	0	0	4	1	0
Fletcher, ss.	3	0	1	2	3	0
McCormick*	1	0	0	0	0	0
Shafer, ss.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mathewson, p.	4	0	1	0	3	0
Totals	38	2	9†	29	15	2

BOSTON.	AB.	R.	H.	O.	A.	E.
Hooper, rf.	5	0	0	3	0	0
Yerkes, 2b.	4	1	1	0	3	0
Speaker, cf.	4	0	2	2	0	1
Lewis, lf.	4	0	0	1	0	0
Gardner, 3b.	3	0	1	1	4	2
Stahl, 1b.	4	1	2	15	0	1
Wagner, ss.	3	0	1	3	5	1
Cady, c.	4	0	0	5	3	0
Bedient, p.	2	0	0	0	1	0
Henriksen‡	1	0	1	0	0	0
Wood, p.	0	0	0	0	2	0
Engle§	1	1	0	0	0	0
Totals	35	3	8	30	18	5

*McCormick batted for Fletcher in the ninth inning.
†Two out when winning run was scored.
‡Henriksen batted for Bedient in the seventh inning.
§Engle batted for Wood in the tenth inning.

New York	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	—2
Boston	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	—3

Two-base hits—Murray, 2; Herzog, Gardner, Henriksen, Stahl. Pitching record—Off Bedient, 1 run and 6 hits in 26 times at bat in 7 innings; off Wood, 1 run and 3 hits in 12 times at bat in 3 innings. Sacrifice hit—Myers. Sacrifice fly—Gardner. Stolen base—Devore. Left on bases—New York, 11; Boston, 9. First base on balls—Off Bedient, 3 (Snodgrass, Devore, Myers); off Mathewson, 5 (Gardner, Speaker, Wagner, Yerkes, Lewis); off Wood, 1 (Devore). First base on errors—New York, 1; Boston, 1. Struck out—By Mathewson, 4 (Speaker, Stahl, Lewis, Yerkes); by Bedient, 2 (Merkle, Fletcher); by Wood, 2 (Herzog, Mathewson). Time of game—2 hours and 37 minutes. Umpires—Mr. O'Loughlin behind the bat; Mr. Rigler on the bases; Mr. Klem in left field; Mr. Evans in right field.

beyond short. Murray and Snodgrass ran for the ball, but slowed up as Fletcher began running. In the moment two which the three lost glancing angrily at one another the little among the verdant blades

HERZOG BATTING HERO

THE BOX-SCORE

pages also are made up early; but baseball is "must" copy chiefly because it *is* baseball.

This is the news association side of the baseball burden from a morning paper standpoint. The afternoon problem is less serious because, while results are bulletined to all afternoon papers, the wire time consumed is comparatively brief. Now let's go behind the headlines and talk things over with the newspaper owner or managing editor.

His first desire is to give his readers what they want, at the same time maintaining a decent average with proper regard for news values, in order that his paper may not be top-heavy in one thing or shy in another. How many editors have held to this idea? Very few. The baseball mania has upset all standards of news proportion. Nothing in the history of newspapers, or in the history of the world for that matter, has so caught the public fancy as to call forth special editions daily devoted to one thing exclusively. But the afternoon baseball extra now runs through three editions up to the "Final," and, deprived of it, the "fan" would howl like a man who had lost a leg.

In advertising, baseball pays a newspaper practically nothing. When the home team is on home grounds, you will find a small announcement of the game on the sporting

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page; seldom more than this. But, although baseball is strictly a commercial proposition, the newspaper owner finds no complaint because of lack of advertising. It is a good, clean sport, his readers want it, and he is willing and anxious to give them all he can within reason. If he were to estimate from an advertising standpoint the value of the publicity given baseball, the figures would be staggering. The space simply could not be bought.

Where will it end? "Fans" are being born faster than P. T. Barnum's proverbial suckers, and each succeeding season finds them more familiar with the game, and demanding more and better news of it. Any old account of an ordinary news event, such as the Balkan war or the assassination of a Mexican President, will do; but baseball, goodness me! we want that written by an *expert*. We want his picture at the head of his column, embellished, if possible, with a facsimile of his signature. We would also like a page of cartoons, depicting the home team in some gentle posture, say, walking on the face of the nearest rival for the pennant, or perchance seated triumphantly in a soaring aeroplane, waving a fond farewell to a small, grunting bear or tiger wearily trundling on the dusty road below a rickety wheelbarrow filled with lemons.

All this costs the newspapers money. Special baseball writers receive big salaries, usually larger than editorial writers—the molders of public opinion. Cartoonists also come high. Most of the big newspapers keep staff correspondents traveling with the major league teams throughout the circuit. There are usually ten special writers with the New York Giants every season.

Any way you put it, baseball is an expensive commodity for the newspaper to handle. It is true that "fans" are readers, and that without readers there would be no newspapers. It is likewise possible that many "fans" would cease to be readers if deprived of baseball news. But whether, from a newspaper standpoint, baseball actually *pays*, is a problem for the psychologist. Similarly, it is a question whether the "fan," clamoring for more and more baseball, has brought baseball news to its present state of elaborateness, or whether the editor himself, keen to outstrip his fellows, has slowly fastened the burden on his own shoulders.

The baseball extra, as one would naturally suppose, is read almost solely for baseball news. Having scanned the scores, the "fan" usually throws the paper aside. You can see hundreds of such editions in any city, littering street car seats or scattered about the car floors on commuters' trains. The inference is that, of all editions of the daily paper, the sporting extra is the poorest advertising medium. It advertises baseball, however, and in the fans' mind that is enough to justify its existence and continuance.

Reporting baseball games for ticker services and for private sale on score-cards is a regularly organized business of the telegraph companies. Your real "fan" can't wait for the final scores in the sporting extras; he wants his results by innings. So, if he doesn't care to stand gaping with the crowds in front of the newspaper bulletin-boards, he plants himself by a ticker and absorbs this choppy service from the front with as much enthusiasm as if he were in the grand stand. The ticker may be in a café, a cigar store, or a club; invariably there is a crowd around it.

To supply this service, for which the Western Union Telegraph Company has thousands of clients throughout the country, it has a combination operator-reporter in the press stand at all ball grounds. He keeps his eye on the game, his hand on his key, and, abreast of each play, his report is flashed all over the country in three winks. It is sold to any one who will buy—a newspaper, a vaudeville theater, a ticker service, or an enterprising individual who peddles, at twenty-five cents each, score-cards with the final results. Unlike the newspapers, which receive all ground and admission privileges free, the Western Union pays a handsome sum for permission to retail baseball results, and new contracts at a constantly increasing figure, as the baseball craze becomes more acute, are made every now and then with the League authorities.

Why is baseball so popular? We all know the answer—because it's "on the level"—and again just because it is baseball. To keep up an interest in the racing game you must either go to the track regularly or lay a small bet every now and then. Baseball you can enjoy absolutely free of cost. If you can't afford a seat in the bleachers even twice during the season, you can watch the bulletin-boards, hang over the ticker, and read the newspapers. And between times you can talk it.

Not so long ago, several ambitious gentlemen in Kentucky sent to sporting editors and others throughout the country an announcement that they were prepared to lay odds and make a book on the major league con-

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tests. Did they? They did not. Immediately there were flashed from coast to coast stories of the threatened injection of gambling into the National diversion as forecasting its decay and downfall. The press was universally outraged. Sporting editors who do not vote the Prohibition ticket, and who enjoy the excitement of adding to or subtracting from the pay envelope through the comparative speed per furlong of Nancy B. or Helen S., rose as a man in condemnation of the proposal. The National Commission—the Supreme Court of baseball—was interviewed, legal authorities consulted, prosecution threatened. After a week of excitement in "fandom," nothing more was heard from the gentlemen in Kentucky. Publicity had killed their scheme, and baseball remained clean.

A second article on baseball will follow. It is written by Mr. H. Addington Bruce, and its subject is, "What's the Use of Baseball?"

THE TOLL-GATE

BY MARTHA HASKELL CLARK

Who come riding down the way?
Ease, and Wealth, and Pride;
Palfreys fretting 'neath the spur,
Lackeys by their side.
Largess flung to left and right
For the crowd's acclaim,
Pages riding on before
Heralding their fame;
Silken banners scarlet-flung
O'er a golden scroll—
Haunchward drew with sulky curb:
"Varlet! Name the toll!"

Bare of head the keeper stepped forth into the light,
Where the springtime sunlight slept on the roadway white.
"Nay, put back your purses' store, meshed with crowding gold;
Never need to tax them sore, when the tale is told!
Love, the lord of these fair lands, bade me aye to say,
This the toll that he demands ere ye enter may!

"'Copper coin of simple love
Hoarded through the years;
Silver-piece of sympathy
Wet with honest tears;
Glad-heart penny, toiling gained,
Grimed with plowshare's earth;
Or a single farthing's meed
Wrung by human worth!'"

Who come faring down the way,
Brown cheeks moorland-tanned?
Cottage lass and cottage lad
Fasted hand in hand,
Fresh from humble shepherd's byre
'Neath blue moorland skies,
Smiling trusting joy and love
To each other's eyes.
Passed the scowling, baffled train,
Ease, and Wealth, and Pride—
Paid their toll with gathered coins
These had flung aside!

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THE SPECTATOR

THE last time the Spectator went abroad he deliberately set aside a round sum of money—no, not for photographs, not for concerts, not even for drives—but for a purely physical indulgence, for afternoon tea. And now it is his unfailing advice to all departing travelers to do the same. Of course, if one is rich and does not have to consider expenses, the particular appropriation is not necessary. But if, like the Spectator, one has to balance luxuries and make a careful choice, there is everything in having taken a stand once for all and thus saving one's self the wear and tear of a daily decision.

It will be observed that the Spectator speaks seriously. Well, he found it a serious matter. He has always been accustomed to a frugal and conscientious disposition of his affairs. Consequently, when he found himself day by day drifting in through the alluring portals of Continental tea-rooms, he was at first inclined to take himself to task. What an extravagance! And how degrading! Mere tea and cakes, gone in half an hour, when every feast might have supplied a photograph of some Sistine Chapel glory! Does not the protest sound like a New Englander? But New Englanders can reason subtly as well as rigidly; and, following their example, by and by the Spectator arrived at an appreciation of the spiritual values of afternoon tea—after which he was all right.

The Spectator reached this result by the negative process of sternly denying himself, of marching home from a soul-rending intercourse with those same Sistine Chapel people mentioned above, of directing his footsteps resolutely past the Bethel Tea Room, past Miss Babington's, past the American Tea Room, and then wearily and dejectedly taking his seat on a Pincian chair to watch out the fag end of the day. In this situation he was undoubtedly victorious over himself, but he was also a sorry companion for all who approached him. As for his own state of mind, he was so racked by the Sistine Chapel that he would have bought anything in the world rather than a photograph of it.

It is curious how, after a certain point, the beautiful things of the world can turn on their worshipers and annihilate them. Up to that given point there is nothing but strength and gladness and freedom in the association. The spirit soars and claps its wings, rising to the conception of meditation in the Isaiah, of inspiration in the Delphic Sibyl, and of nothing less than divine creation in the Adam. Then suddenly (who can tell how it happens?) down go the wings—mere Icarus makeshifts—and prostrate falls the spirit as if felled by a blow. A blow from Daniel's right hand? So it would seem; for he certainly turns and threatens there, starting out from his niche in the ceiling as if he were even about to give chase. Jonah likewise impends alarmingly, and the Cumean Sibyl hints portentous warnings, while all the beautiful youths get their nimble feet and hands ready for immediate pursuit. There is nothing to do but turn and flee, thrusting one's Baedeker into one's pocket, striding down the long galleries and out into the sunshine, casting never a look behind one, nor even a thought. And, once in the open, there is only one weapon with which to hold the Sistine Chapel effectively at bay, and that is—tea.

Ah! the relief of taking refuge in a cheerful, humming, clinking room, set close with little tables! Smiling waiters dart here and there, as nimble as the Sistine youths, and far more benevolent; teapots steam fragrantly, and plates and baskets of cakes present a bewildering choice; people of all nations and ages crowd, good-naturedly eager, bent on sheer relaxation and refreshment. There is no strain, there is no suspense—save that involved in the choice of cakes; there is a triumphant sense of safety. To the very door of Aragno's the Sistine Chapel may pursue its quarry; but beyond the threshold it is powerless to come.

Having once made up his mind and set aside his sum of money, the Spectator gave himself over to a study of Roman cafés, which he found most edifying. They are almost as numerous and almost as much alike as the mosaic shops. Everywhere the same little cakes for the same price of ten centimes; everywhere the same jealous reserve of cream; everywhere the same

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metal teapots with the searing handles. But there are certain differences and superiorities. At Faraglio's one gets music, and a diverting, picturesque crowd, and indifferent tea. Oh, a delightful crowd at Faraglio's! Roman dandies cheek by jowl with brown-frocked, sandaled monks, the one type consuming ices as unconcernedly as the other; tourists from all parts of the world; long-haired artists; indigent poets, prolonging their cups of coffee until they have taken every advantage of the present opportunity to polish up their sonnets; gentle ladies with cavaliers, deep in each other's eyes. When the weather is fine, the Faraglio tables cover the sidewalk, and the pleasant murmur of gossip mingles with the rattle of hovering cabs in the Piazza. The scene at Aragno's, in the Corso, is much the same as that at Faraglio's; but there is no music here, and the cakes are better. Perhaps a little more aristocratic—Aragno's. Its coffee is famous. The Babington supplies excellent tea and good enough cakes; but its patronage is as different as possible from that of the other two places. There is nothing Italian about it. English are its waitresses, and English the people who solidly occupy its tables every afternoon. Large ladies in stout boots and short skirts and voluminous veils; large, eager gentlemen—"Oh, I say!"—guide-books and camp-stools and cameras; bracelets and earrings and "buns." The occasional Roman who finds his way in through this Anglo-Saxon portal looks as much out of place as if he were not within touch of the streets of his ancestors. The American Tea Room is likewise distinct. It specializes in doughnuts and pies and toasted marshmallows, and its walls re-echo mostly with the accents of Chicago. Now and then some curious English people, lured by the advertisements in the window—"Doughnuts! What will these be like, my dear? And toasted marshmallows—how very odd!"—stray in and amusedly taste of our national dainties; but the Spectator never once saw an Italian there.

All these places are pleasant, and the Spectator frequented them according to his mood. Which did he feel most in need of to-day—good tea, or music, or diverting people, or the touch and taste of home? But he made many experiments too, dropping in at all sorts of odd, unexpected places, tucked away in the corners of *piazzas* or in side streets. It was wandering thus one day that he discovered the Café Cesare, on the Aventine, and he cannot be thankful enough for that happy chance. It is not an elegant resort. One enters through a shabby garden and up a narrow, dark, stone stairway, which leads into a kitchen. But what a kitchen! It is huge and cavernous, and it displays all sorts of viands laid ready for cooking—one has but to choose. Moreover, its kitchen table is made of white marble and has griffin legs. Out on the terrace beyond the kitchen one understands the meaning of the café's name, for one finds one's self looking directly across the valley into the Palace of the Cæsars. Verily, that is a view in the face of which to presume to drink tea! Beyond the Palatine rise the ruins and towers of the most of Rome; and in the distance stretches the dim Campagna, bounded by its misty hills. The only trouble with the Café Cesare is that one's tea is apt to grow cold from neglect.

Good Roman tea-rooms! The Spectator is profoundly grateful to all of them. They saved him, restored him, heartened him. And if now and then he went forth from them to buy the very photographs which he had ostensibly just converted into tea and cakes, what did it matter? It was worth everything to be re-established in a secure appreciation of the Sistine Chapel.

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THE NEW BOOKS

A BOOK A WEEK

TWO important books appear describing the Chinese revolution and its consequences. Their authors know about recent Chinese history at first hand. Both men have lived long in China and have written former books of value about China. Mr. J. O. P. Bland's volume (Lippincott) is called "Recent Events and Present Policies in China." Mr. P. H. Kent's volume (Longmans) deals with "The Passing of the Manchus."

The sight of a down-trodden race striving to be free carries, as Mr. Bland declares, its own instinctive appeal. The Chinese have striven to be free of "the effeminate luxury of a tribute-fed and eunuch-ridden court" which was also, as Mr. Kent says, "corrupt and vicious, unscrupulous and cruel, insensate and selfish." A year ago the Chinese freed themselves, and did so, furthermore, with "immunity from every form of violence extended to the persons and property of foreigners." What a contrast to the Boxer Rebellion of 1900!

Concerning the revolution of 1911–12 Mr. Bland has two striking things to say: It was "no revolution of the Chinese people" as a whole. Its objects, as generally understood before the outbreak, did not include the establishment of a republic. Of the meaning of that word "republic" we are told that "the great majority of the nation have not the faintest conception."

The expulsion of the dynasty was not so much the declared programme of the majority of rebels, we learn, as was the curtailment of the privileges and power of the Manchus and the introduction of constitutional government under a closely limited monarchy. But, among other causes, "a craving for a change in the forms and symbols of authority, an exaggerated sense of the importance and powers of reforming, quick-witted intelligence and great readiness of tongue and pen, combined with an emotional fervor of nationalism," brought about the proclamation of a republic and have since been its chief characteristics. Still other causes were the misery of overpopulation and starvation, the hope of greater opportunity in borrowing money, and the spectacle of the increasing self-government in Japan, Persia, and Turkey. A republican form of government was thought by an increasing number to be more advantageous than a limited monarchical form, this despite "the conspicuous failure of European ideals of popular representative government as recently applied to Turkey and Persia." Chinese political and patriotic enthusiasm in this respect now shows some emotional quality. It is thus described:

> A modern Chinese audience will work itself up into a semi-hysterical condition of eloquence and tears, when vast sums are subscribed (on paper) and orators will chop off a finger joint to demonstrate the intensity of their feelings. This emotional quality, the characteristic of the modern-educated Chinese crowd, contrasts so strongly with the restraint and dignity of the Confucian tradition that many observers have been thereby misled in attributing to Young China, not only unswerving convictions, but tenacity of will and a common purpose of achievement. For these political enthusiasms are as swift-spreading and contagious as our religious revivals; women, wives and sisters of the emancipated, organize social and political movements of their own, demand the vote and enroll themselves, greatly daring, as volunteers in the army of the Republic.

Again, while many of the instincts of the Chinese Republicans "are fundamentally sound and justifiable on grounds of patriotism . . . the practical results of their activities are all too frequently marred by self-seeking and venality." Hence, to maintain, in the matter of finance, for instance, that China should be "mistress in her own house" is, says Mr. Bland, "a dangerous creed—China, in whose capital the Foreign Legations are protected by the armed forces of eight nations; China, whose only reliable revenues have been collected under the supervision of foreigners for more than half a century." We are also told that such solidarity as the Republic can claim has been the immediate result of Yuan Shi-kai's successful assertion of autocratic authority. China's new government, concludes Mr. Bland, contains none of the elements of genuine republicanism; it is "merely the old despotism, the old mandarinate, under new names." Yet, none the less, the establishment of the Republic is, as this author admits, "a stupendous miracle." Not only does it mean that the old Dragon Throne is uprooted, but that "the most democratic form of government known to modern times" has arisen.

What are the Republic's immediate prospects? Here both authors are pessimistic. Young China is "unregenerate" and "undis-

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ciplined." "Its ideals and projects of government involve the creation of a new social and political structure, utterly unsuited to the character and traditions of the race; to which Mr. Kent adds: "There has been an immaturity about typical Republican aspirations which has displayed a lamentable lack of appreciation either of the conditions of the country or the circumstances of the times."

Yet the outlook, as Mr. Kent is careful to say, is by no means desperate. "In the first place, the needs of the great mass of the people—agriculturists, merchants, mechanics—make for peace, he declares. In the second place, among the politicians "there are men of character and ability, the material of which statesmen are made . . . impressed with the need of inspiring in the country, and especially in official life, a moral sense, in place of the perverted canons of conduct to which ages of characteristically Oriental methods have given rise."

With this outlook what can the other nations do to help the Republic? First, support Yuan Shi-kai "in the centralization of authority," Mr. Bland says, and Mr. Kent declares, "Salvation can come only through a policy of effective centralization." Second, make recognition of the Republic depend "upon the establishment of a central government representative of the nation." Fortunately, all classes of reformers have agreed upon the elective principle of representation and on a parliamentary system of government, and parliamentary elections have been held. This is all very well, but Mr. Kent declares that the resultant National Assembly "cannot imaginably be representative."

Hence, what are the Republic's ultimate prospects? Will it last? No, says Mr. Bland. The republican movement in China, he believes, has been approved by vague sentiment rather than by a historical judgment of the issues involved or by a well-balanced critical faculty. He would have us regard the Republic as "a transient phenomenon," probably to be replaced by a limited monarchy pledged to constitutional reforms. Mr. Kent seems inclined to look instead for a dictatorship under the guise of a republic. Perhaps both men are mistaken and the Republic will last.

Works of Gilbert Parker. Vol. IX. **The Seats of the Mighty.** Vol. X. **The Battle of the Strong.** Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

We have already spoken in appreciation of the beautiful uniform edition of Sir Gilbert Parker's novels and stories. The latest accessions are of his two best-known and strongest novels—and, it may be added, two of the finest English novels of recent times.

Widecombe Fair. By Eden Phillpotts. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.25.

Here Mr. Phillpotts gives us, not a powerful story of temperament and the stirring of the depths of passion, but a thoroughly delightful study of Dartmouth village characters. No one, not even Thomas Hardy, can bring out the rustic humor and oddity of the English country people as they were a generation ago with such racy geniality and individual distinctness as does Mr. Phillpotts. This is a book to read leisurely and to enjoy deeply.

War. By John Luther Long. Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. $1.30.

A Civil War tale of the borderland—that is, Maryland. A girl with passionate Southern patriotism, living in the family of a kind old Union man, who tells the story, is loved by both his sons. She acts as a spy, and brings trouble upon these three true and simple men, and thus love, tragedy, devotion, sorrow, and audacity move to action sorrow and sacrifice. The story is told in an unusual way as to manner, and one misses the directness of Mr. Long's "Madame Butterfly," but the theme is dramatic, and the human touches many and delicate.

Three Farms. By John Mätter. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.20.

This delightful little book is accurately described by the publishers as an "adventure in contentment," having to do with the author's experiences, idyllic and otherwise, on three farms—one in France, one in the Canadian Northwest, and finally on the "home" farm in Indiana. It makes cheerful reading, and has the refinement of sweet-natured humanity.

Night Born (The). By Jack London. The Century Company, New York. $1.25.

Jack London is the prophet of sheer physical hardihood. His heroes are tall men of their hands. They know nothing of moral courage. Their virtues are as unmoral as those of the cave men, their ancestors. They would rather fight than eat, and they would rather fight with their naked hands than with any of the adventitious aids of civilization. The savage bravery of his heroes inspires a shiver of admiration mingled with a shudder of repulsion. For his heroines the admiration is wanting. In two out of the three women who are principal characters in the ten stories of this volume the ruthless courage of the male has degenerated into heartless cruelty in the female. Mr. Lon-

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don's colors lie crude and raw upon his palette. If his drawing were not so good, his technique so skillful, it would be a temptation to transfer to him from another field of art the label of Post-Futurism. But there is grave doubt that many of the Post-Futurists really know how to draw, much less to paint. There is no doubt at all that Mr. London knows how to write.

Comrade Yetta. By Albert Edwards. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.35.

Less startling in its episodes than its predecessor, "A Man's Friend," this story is even more faithful and comprehensive in its use as fiction material of the men and women of New York's East Side. There is a certain detachment in point of view that relieves the book of the charge of being solely a novel of purpose. The author is not arguing, he is telling. Vividly and clearly his Comrade Yetta is thrown on the screen—daughter of a Russian Jew second-hand bookseller, after his death living with vulgar and sordid relatives, at fifteen a worker in a sweat-shop, all but the victim of a "cadet" in her ignorance of life, then accidentally interested in trades-unionism and the welfare of her fellow girl workers, soon a "picket" and in time a strike leader. Yetta is alive with eagerness, energy, intensity of purpose. The novel was written before the recent garment workers' strike, but it could not have been a closer rendition of the industrial and social problems involved if it had been a study written after the event. There are other characters besides Yetta worth following in their development, and a double love story. The great merit of the book is that it does sincerely mirror life and that it arouses sympathy and a desire to know more, not by preaching or argument, but through the art of its presentation to mind and imagination.

Adventures of Miss Gregory (The). By Perceval Gibbon. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.35.

Miss Gregory is a real creation in fiction. Sturdy and resolute, not to be quelled or ignored, this experienced middle-aged traveler meets in the East adventure after adventure, and always she proves equal to the emergency. Her heart is large and her mind resourceful, and again and again she rescues or befriends those who are in danger or distress. Mr. Gibbon knows how to give each chapter its sharp point of interest and excitement, and always he maintains our interest in and admiration for his resourceful Miss Gregory.

Vanishing Points. By Alice Brown. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25.

One may always depend upon Alice Brown for sincere, sound work. Her people in this group of collected short stories are clear to the mind, made so by countless delicate touches and fine lines. The incidents and situations are always normal and natural, not straining for sensation, but growing simply out of character and temperament.

Wayfarer in China (A): Impressions of a Trip Across West China and Mongolia. By E. Kendall. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.50.

Miss Kendall, the head of the History Department of Wellesley, seems an intrepid traveler in little-known lands. Her latest field of exploration has been western China. Certainly in a trip there through the provinces of Yunnan and Szechuan she accomplished what other women have never achieved. But this was not, we believe, the real reason of her journey. As the present volume shows, she is genuinely and humanly interested in the Chinese people, and, in order to know them at first hand, felt that she ought to visit those parts of China least affected by foreign influence. Her observations are of interest and value, even if here and there they may be accompanied by what may seem to the ordinary reader too much detail. The timeliest observation, we think, is Miss Kendall's opinion that if the Chinese bring their power of organization sufficiently to bear they may make a success of the Republic.

France. By Cecil Headlam. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.

There are two disappointments in this book. First, the student who expects to find a complete history of France will find a chronicle of that history only until the year 1870. Second, the reader delighted with Mr. Headlam's recently published "Provence" will find here little of the atmosphere which distinguished that book. But the present volume is an excellent compendium of history. It is to be commended especially to those who would gain a quick survey. Its compactness is admirable.

Psychology and Industrial Efficiency. By H. Münsterberg. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.50.

In this volume Professor Münsterberg, of Harvard, makes a valuable contribution to a vital interest. Personal and public satisfaction alike depend on the right persons and the right places being brought together. From the present hit-or-miss methods and the consequent misfits economic waste and moral loss continually result. Dr. Münsterberg has been frequently resorted to by business men and managers of large establishments for expert advice. Describing his processes and their results, he shows the helpfulness of economic psychology toward finding the best possible worker, producing the best possible work, and securing the best possible effects. Dr. Münsterberg concludes, after presenting the various particulars of the general problem, that this line of applied psychology has made only a good beginning. The vocational bureaus already established in several cities that have followed the lead of Boston are appropriate agencies to take up the results of the psychological laboratories as fast

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as they appear. The ideal solution for the United States, he considers, would be "a governmental bureau for applied psychology" with special reference to commerce and industry, analogous to its model agricultural stations. For, he says, the enormous waste of human material, nowhere more wide than here, calls for a conservation policy similar to that which has begun in the forests, mines, and rivers.

Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Assisted by John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D., and Other Scholars. Volume V. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $7.

One can hardly esteem too highly the value of this great work of reference. Specialists of many nations, Western and Eastern, often in collaborating groups, here cover a range of subjects not less comprehensive than the whole sphere of religious and ethical interests.

Catholic Encyclopedia (The). Volume 15. The Robert Appleton Company, New York.

During the six years since its first volume appeared The Outlook has repeatedly recognized the merit of this work, its defects, and its value to the religious world. The fifty columns of *Errata* with which its concluding volume ends is a highly valuable feature, too rare in works of its kind.

Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany. With Introduction and Notes by Herbert F. Schwarz. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.25.

This facsimile reprint from the edition of 1654 will be welcomed by many students of Elizabethan drama. Mr. Schwarz hazards no new surmise as to the authorship or date of this black tragedy of treachery and revenge, but contents himself with supplying a historical setting for the customs and manners flamboyantly portrayed during the course of the play.

Dramatic Works of Gerhart Hauptmann (The). Vol. I.—**Social Dramas.** Edited by Ludwig Lewisohn. (Authorized Edition.) B. W. Huebsch, New York. $1.50.

Modern stagecraft is indebted to Hauptmann and his school for a very great and beneficent broadening of the field from which dramatic material is secured. Moreover, stagecraft is indebted to them for shattering many hoary and absurd traditions as to the manner in which this material should be presented. But if they have taught us to seek realism in choice of material and in manner of presentation, can it be truly said that they are any closer to realism in the matter of interpretation than the romanticists whom they have supplanted? In other words, have they been giving us anything more than the mere data of life, the fleshless skeleton and nothing of the spirit? Is the galvanized misery of a Hauptmann weaver as absolutely true as the poeticized distress of Old Adam in "As You Like It"? At the risk of becoming somewhat oratorical, we answer, No! Moreover, drama, to our unenlightened eyes, must progress in some direction—the progress is more essential than the direction. A man sitting in the gutter is not drama; let him stumble in or climb out. Judged by this standard, much of Hauptmann is as dramatic as a revolving barber pole. "Before Dawn," for all its wealth of incident, is a case in point. Somehow the perusal of these "social plays" makes us long more than ever for the development of a genuine "realist," able to comprehend what Hauptmann only enumerates and describes. The plays in this first volume of Hauptmann's Complete Works are "Before Dawn," "The Weavers," "The Beaver Coat," and "The Conflagration."

Immigrant Invasion (The). By Frank Julian Warne. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.50.

Dr. Warne has had unusual facilities for studying the immigrant problem at first hand through his work as Secretary of the New York State Immigration Commission, as a special expert of the National Census Bureau in regard to our foreign-born population, and in other ways. He has accumulated in this volume a large number of important facts, and has classified them in their relation to one another and to the great present-day problems involved. The book is a storehouse of valuable information, but it is also a work of interpretation and stimulus to action. The results of Dr. Warne's studies are, in some cases, put into concentrated form through diagrams. We have been particularly struck with the first of these diagrams, which shows graphically the distribution of our foreign-born population in different parts of the country and in different States. The eye is instantly struck with the fact that there is a marked tendency towards concentration in two great divisions of the country, namely, the North Atlantic and the North Central groups of States. In these may be found actually about eighty-four out of a hundred of all our foreign-born population; while nearly half of the total are concentrated in four States, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. Dr. Warne, like all recent economic students of the question, is strongly in favor of restriction of immigration. He points out forcibly the changes in the industrial situation in this country in the last twenty or thirty years as affected by immigration, and quotes Macaulay's prophecy of 1857 to the effect that as our formerly boundless extent of fertile land is taken up wages will become low, there will be times when hundreds of thousands of artisans will be out of work, and American institutions will then, for the first time, be fully brought to the test. This situation, to a large extent, has now arisen; and the real question is not whether there should be restriction, but what kind of restriction there should be, and how it should be applied. In the solving of these pressing problems Dr. Warne's statements of fact and deductions therefrom cannot fail to be of positive value.

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BY THE WAY

The historic Château of Chenonceaux, near Tours, France, came under the hammer recently, and was bought by Menier, the chocolate manufacturer, for $374,000—a sum which could no doubt easily be spent on the yearly upkeep of this vast feudal residence. Among the famous guests that Chenonceaux has sheltered were a royal couple, aged eighteen, who spent their honeymoon at the Château—Francis II and Mary Queen of Scots.

Important additions are planned for the Catholic University at Washington, D.C. A chemical laboratory to cost $300,000, a dining hall to seat 1,000, and a fine building to house the students of physics and mechanical engineering are new features that attest the determination of the Church to keep pace with institutions of secular learning.

General William Booth is to have as a memorial in this country a chain of hotels for workingmen, to be erected by the Salvation Army. The one in New York City will be at 225 Bowery, and will contain 634 rooms, which will be supplied with electric lights and reached by elevators. Such philanthropies are a true reflection of the spirit of the Army's founder.

Governor Sulzer, of New York, in a letter to the New York "Sun" about his favorite books, says that he reads the Bible every day, "and after all that is the Book of Books." Among his other favorite books are "Pilgrim's Progress," "Two Years Before the Mast," "A Tale of Two Cities," and "Les Misérables."

"Since we lost Cuba," said Señor Romanones, the Premier of Spain, recently, "the development of our country at home, especially in agriculture and mining, has been immense." The growth in general business has been so great that the railways have difficulty in keeping up with the demands for transportation. One railway recently ordered 3,000 cars from foreign builders.

New York City public schools recently observed "Safety Day." Talks and readings about the avoiding of accidents impressed hundreds of thousands of children with the necessity of eternal vigilance in the crowded streets. Future statistics will no doubt justify the wisdom of this kind of instruction, in a diminished list of fatalities and injuries. Every city should have a "Safety Day" for its school children.

An international incident in aviation ended happily when the German air-ship cruiser Z 4, which blew out of its course in a fog and landed in French territory, was sent back to Germany with the compliments of the French War Minister. The brief descent of the ship in foreign territory, however, brought out the customs officers, and the Germans had to pay $2,000 duty for their error of judgment as to their course.

A note that may be useful to vacationists is to the effect that when one's shoes have become soaked from walking in the rain their shape may be retained by stuffing them, before drying, with newspapers. Another plan is to fill them with dry oats, which will rapidly absorb the moisture and, swelling up, retain the shoe's shape almost as well as a last.

New Jersey has passed a law requiring hatpins and similar devices to be provided with tips or guards to prevent "lacerations upon the flesh of another person" than the wearer. Travelers from other States are subject to the law's provisions.

The Vaterland, now the largest vessel afloat, was launched recently at Hamburg. She is 950 feet long and 100 feet wide. Eighty-four lifeboats will be carried, including two high-powered motor boats which may be used in towing the others. Instead of having the usual berths, all of the first-cabin staterooms will be provided with brass beds.

The volcanic eruption of Mount Katmai, in Alaska, in June, 1912, is described by Mr. George C. Martin, of the United States Geological Survey, in the "National Geographic Magazine," as one of the greatest eruptions of historic times. The volume of ashes ejected is declared to have been even greater than in the eruption of Krakatoa in 1883, though the ashes was not thrown to so great a distance as in that tremendous volcanic explosion. Katmai's eruption was unique, however, in the fact that it occasioned no loss of life.

Cornish, New Hampshire, is to be the "summer capital," or, in other words, the residence of President Wilson during the hot weather. "Harlakenden," the 700-acre estate of Mr. Winston Churchill, has, it is announced, been chosen by the President for this purpose. The "summer White House" is an attractive Colonial mansion commanding a beautiful view of river and mountain scenery.

A Northern preacher, telling about his first trip South, says that after leaving his hotel in a remote town in Alabama he found that he had left his pocketbook between the mattresses of his bed. His fellow-travelers all assured him that a colored chambermaid was never known to restore such a find. He telegraphed a description of his property, however, and went on to fulfill his preaching engagement. After four days he returned to the hotel, and received his wallet, with every bill and every paper just as he had left them. His faith in the Negro and in Providence henceforth had a telling illustration.

From all Atlantic ports, including those of Canada, 706,122 persons sailed for Europe in 1912. A large majority of these—558,649—sailed from New York City. The ships of the North German Lloyd carried the largest number of this great host of travelers, the Cunard Line coming next.

The average freight train load in the United States is, or was in 1910, 380 tons. In England the average is only about 85 or 90 tons—except on the North-Eastern Railway. This railway, by introducing "American methods," has, a railway journal asserts, increased its average train load to nearly 134 tons.

Kindness, says a newspaper essayist, has no better field for exercise than in conversation. The quality may be manifested: By not revealing the fact that you have heard the story before (or by saying, "I heard it this way"); by leading a broken-off conversation back to the starting-point; by avoiding questions that will lead to argument; by avoiding the habit of gazing fixedly at any particular part of the speaker's attire. To which may be added, the abstaining from constant nodding of the head to indicate comprehension.

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